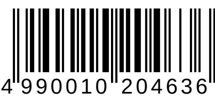
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THE DIARY

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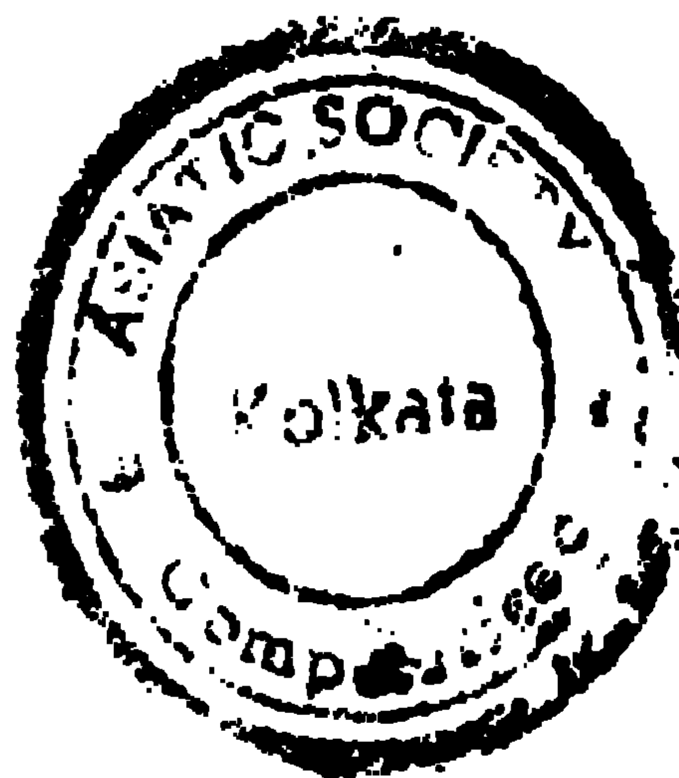
ANANDA RANGA PILLAI

TRANSLATED FROM THE TAMIL BY ORDER OF THE GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS

EDITED BY

H. DODWELL, M.A.
Curator, Madras Record Office

Volume IV



MADRAS

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PREFATORY NOTE.

The translation of the following section of Ânanda Ranga Pillai's Diary has been rendered the more difficult because there exists in India no text with which the Madras transcript of this portion can be collated. The original and the Montbrun transcript both seem to have been lost.

I have to acknowledge with great gratitude the courtesy with which His Excellency M. Martineau, Governor of the French Settlements in India, permitted me to examine the archives at Pondichery, together with the kindness of the French Minister of the Colonies in permitting me to procure copies of documents lodged at the *Ministère des Colonies* at Paris. My sincere thanks are due to Mr. W. Foster, C.I.E., for affording me information on numerous points of detail; to Mr. S. C. Hill for being so kind as to read the proof-sheets and make several suggestions of which I have taken advantage; to the Hon'ble Diwan Bahadur L. D. Swamikannu Pillai for translating and annotating the horoscope printed as an appendix to the present volume; and also to Dr. F. de Haan, the Archivist at Batavia, for information regarding Sadras. I must further acknowledge the great assistance afforded me by Rao Sahib K. Ranga Achariyar, the Superintendent of the Madras Record Office, and by M.R.Ry. S. Kuppuswami Ayyar, in preparing the text of the translation.

As regards printed authorities, my principal obligations are to Colonel Love's *Vestiges of Old Madras*, to M. Cultru's *Dupleix*, to the Marquis de Nazelle's *La Défense de Pondichery*, and to the volumes of records issued by the *Société de l'histoire de l'Inde française*. Other obligations are acknowledged in the footnotes.

N.B.—My references to the records at Pondichery are indicated by the letters 'P.R.' and the numbering is given as in M. Martineau's recent Catalogue.

H.D.

INTRODUCTION TO VOL. IV.

The period covered by the present volume of Ânanda Ranga Pillai's Diary—March 15, 1747 to March 31, 1748—includes no event of outstanding importance but affords much detail of considerable interest, such as would naturally come to the knowledge of a man discharging the varied duties of Chief Dubash. As the principal factotum of the Governor, he was expected not only to assist in the negotiation of the Company's investment and the provision of the Governor's private trade, but also to procure intelligence, to advise concerning political relations with the country powers, to see that the Governor's correspondence with them was properly interpreted, to arrange for the offering of suitable presents to the Governor on the proper occasions, to conduct intrigues in which the Governor wished to avoid personal intervention, to watch, report, and advise on the state of public feeling among the Indian inhabitants. As such he was necessarily acquainted with much confidential information which, with an exception or two, he promptly set down in his diary.

Of commercial matters in the present volume we hear little. Commerce, both public and private, in the European settlements at this period was chiefly maritime. Their internal trade was necessarily

insignificant, because they were but small centres of population. The principal branches of local trade consisted of the importation of goods, not for sale in Pondichery, but for export to the islands of the Malay Archipelago, to Manilla, to China, to the French islands, to the Persian Gulf, and to the Red Sea; while the Company's trade consisted almost entirely of traffic to and from Europe. Both public and private commerce thus presupposed open seas; but from March 1747, when Griffin arrived with the British squadron and saved Fort St. David from threatened capture, the seas were practically closed to French trade until the end of the war. From time to time news came which made Dupleix hope to be able to renew the languishing commerce of the settlement; but the English squadrons were too tenacious and too pervasive for these hopes to be realized.

Meanwhile the struggle on the Coromandel Coast had come to a dead-lock. The French had, as in 1744, a great military superiority, further increased by the men La Bourdonnais had brought and been compelled to leave behind on the Coast. But a considerable number of men had to be set apart to garrison the captured city of Madras, and English ships once more held the seas, hindered the importation of food-grains from the fertile northern coasts, and formed a perpetual menace to both Madras and Pondichery should they find either stripped of its garrison. Thus the French could only attack Fort

St. David during the short, uncertain periods of the squadron's absence; and the English could not attack Pondichery with the least prospect of success until they had received reinforcements.

This situation is very clearly illustrated by the abortive attempt made on Fort St. David under Dupleix' personal direction in January 1748. Why Dupleix assumed command of it, we are not told; but the reason is probably to be found in the touchy dignity of the officers, who, alike in the French and English camps, both now and throughout the whole struggle, were continually making difficulties by the insubordinate attitude which they adopted towards the civil government. It is likely that in the present case they were unwilling to march under the command of the man whom Dupleix wished to place at their head. The expedition seems to have been well-planned and well-organized; but it came to an ignominious end owing to the length of time spent on its preparation. Had Dupleix been able to march a fortnight earlier than he actually did, it is exceedingly doubtful whether the English would have been able to offer an effective resistance. The garrison was indeed under the command of Captain Gibson, an experienced officer of marines, lent for that purpose by the English commodore; but later experience suggests that the Company's forces had not yet acquired that resolute and disciplined valour which they were to display in the later phases of the struggle under the command of Stringer Lawrence.

The question, however, was not to be brought to the test in January 1748. The French expedition was so long delayed that it was but on the march when the English squadron hove in sight and for the second time saved Fort St. David to the English.

Meanwhile, although Pondichery was not seriously exposed to immediate attack, the future, as it must have appeared to Dupleix, grew steadily more and more dubious. The French shipping, so long expected, failed to appear; rumours spread of the English expedition under Boscawen; so Dupleix became ever increasingly preoccupied with the question of defence. Hence his close personal attention to the progress of the fortifications, and his anxiety, manifested on numerous occasions, to provision the town with adequate stocks of grain.

Relations with the country powers were naturally modified somewhat by the situation of Pondichery. Although Dupleix had concluded a peace with Anwar-ud-din, the old Nawab of Arcot, shortly before the opening of the present volume, that did not signify that the Nawab was disposed to assist the French in uprooting the English from the Coast. According to the terms agreed upon, the Moorish flag was to fly over Madras for eight days as an acknowledgment of the Nawab's suzerainty and in apology for the French having attacked the place against his express orders; and further considerable presents were to be made as the price of peace. Dupleix' war with the Moors did not then conclude

in a very triumphant manner, since from the Moorish point of view he apologized for his past conduct and purchased the Nawab's forgiveness. The latter's attitude was shown plainly enough by the presents brought back by the French envoys; Ranga Pillai tells us that they were old and valueless, showing the estimate Arcot set at that moment upon the French. Again, the Nawab was still indisposed to allow hostilities on land; and each of Dupleix' attacks on Fort St. David appears to have irritated Arcot against him. That irritation was not very deep or serious, no doubt; but it might on any suitable occasion develop into an inconvenient hostility. Dupleix was keenly aware of this, and ascribed it to the Moors' habitual duplicity, just as the English ascribed Anwar-ud-din's peace with the French to the same cause. In fact both the English and the French Governors knew that they could not rely upon the Nawab's assistance to overthrow the other.

Each nation therefore sought to win over to its side Nasir Jang, Anwar-ud-din's superior, who had been invested by his father, Nizam-ul-mulk, with considerable authority over the countries south of the Kistna. On the one side an English Dubash, Mutyalu, was despatched in August 1747 and succeeded in procuring orders to the Moghul officials of the Carnatic for the protection and assistance of the English, but at such a cost that on his return Governor Floyer refused for some days to see him.

The French, at first sight, had a considerable advantage over us at the Deccan Court, for they had, as it were, a permanent representative in a Moghul official named Imam Sahib. He had been faujdar of Alambarai when Dost Ali Khan was Nawab of the Carnatic; but when Dost Ali was killed by the Marathas in 1741 and Safdar Ali, his son, became Nawab, Imam Sahib fled hurriedly to the northward, being on ill terms with the new ruler at Arcot. He contrived to conciliate the Nizam, became for a time faujdar of Masulipatam, and then was given a place about Nasir Jang's person. In the old days he had been very friendly with the French; and Dumas, Dupleix' predecessor as Governor of Pondichery, had had the address to procure a considerable loan from him. After his establishment at the Court of the Deccan, his relations with the French continued; and it was in his name that the French demanded the restitution of a rich Manilla ship, *le Maure*, which the English captured in 1744.

But however friendly Imam Sahib had been with the French, he had cultivated good relations with the English as well. As faujdar of Masulipatam he had encouraged their traffic there by new and advantageous regulations; and possessed a house at Madras which seems to have contained a considerable quantity of goods. When Madras was taken by the French, these goods were seized on the plea that they really belonged to the English. Moreover,

the French loan was still unpaid; and the failure of the French Company's remittances placed payment altogether out of Dupleix' power. These two subjects of difference must have moderated Imam Sahib's enthusiasm for French interests; at all events he did not or could not prevent the favourable reception of the English envoy, Mutyalu, nor did he display great activity in pressing the negotiation on which Dupleix had set his heart, the exchange of Madras for the districts of Villiyanallûr and Valudâvûr which bordered on the French territory at Pondichery. The reader will find in the following pages numerous passages relating to these matters.

Of minor importance, but very illustrative of conditions in India at this time, is the episode of Mainville's imprisonment in Mysore. He and some other officers were ordered to Mahé overland to recruit sepoys; they were seized on their entrance into the Mysore territories; tried to escape by forcible means; and remained prisoners till the French procured their release by presents.

In all these and similar matters Ranga Pillai played a considerable, though of course a subordinate, part as the Governor's adviser and confidential agent. In other directions, however, he found a formidable rival in Madame Dupleix, who took a considerable share in obtaining intelligence about the English and in settling the Madras question. It is clear that the French did not place unlimited confidence in their Indian agents, particularly in matters

which related to their European enemies. We have conclusive evidence, apart from Ranga Pillai's own statements, that he was suspected (though altogether without reason) of furnishing intelligence to the English.[1] This unjust suspicion, coupled with the consequent invasion of the sphere of his duties, awoke in him bitter dislike of Madame Dupleix. He relates with satisfaction every tale he hears to her disadvantage; he takes counsel with French Company's servants, jealous, like himself, of the interference of a woman in politics; and gives us so lurid a picture of Madame's iniquities that we can only accept it with considerable reservations. His judgment is evidently biassed by his personal feelings and interests. But while that is so, we cannot dismiss Ranga Pillai's allegations against Madame Dupleix as wholly fictitious until we have more conclusive evidence against them than the somewhat vague and undocumented eulogies which have been lavished upon her. Here, as elsewhere, we must distinguish between what Ranga Pillai relates on his own authority and the stories which he hears and repeats. As regards what he has seen and heard, he seems to be a very reliable witness. I am not aware of any instance in which he himself is guilty of anything like bad faith. His weakness lies in his treatment of the reports which he hears from others, for he sometimes records the merest

[1] See p. 207 *infra*.

bazaar rumour with as grave an air as if it was serious evidence, and not infrequently he does not trouble to distinguish between the two, especially when, as in the case of Madame Dupleix, he wishes to believe the worst.

It is noteworthy, however, that in regard to Dupleix himself Ranga Pillai records little but on his own testimony. We learn what were the Governor's orders and how they were carried into execution. The diary thus records a number of incidents which, though in themselves by no means astonishing, come as a disconcerting surprise to those whose conception of Dupleix is based on Colonel Malleson and the writers who have unfortunately accepted him as authoritative. On the other hand, these incidents fill in the detail of the admirable outline we find in the volume which M. Cultru has devoted to Dupleix. For instance, in the present instalment of the Diary, there is the story of Dupleix' intrigue about the Madras cotton. It was alleged that cotton which had been put up for sale at outcry at Madras, was afterwards sold collusively at a lower price than was offered at the public sale. This was denied by Dulaurens and his colleagues at Madras; and thereon Dupleix employed Ranga Pillai to induce the Company's merchants at Pondichery to buy the cotton at a price considerably higher than that at which Dulaurens had sold it; and Dupleix went so far as to offer to bear any loss that might arise to the merchants out of the transaction. The

purpose was evident—to blacken the character of Dulaurens. Now it is quite possible that Dupleix sincerely believed Dulaurens to be guilty, and that he had not sufficient evidence to bring the matter to proof. But that will scarcely condone this manufacture of evidence. The incident in fact illustrates the weakest side of Dupleix' remarkable character. Few have possessed a mind so fertile of expedients, so tenacious of purpose, so clear-sighted, so courageous. But along with these great qualities, there went a violence of temper which often disturbed his judgment, and a subtlety of mind which often passed into disingenuousness. In judging others Dupleix was constantly disposed to believe the worst, to express his belief in untempered language, and to act on it in a way which allowed his good-faith to be called in question. Dupleix' comments and conduct in the Dulaurens case furnish one example; many others might be added. Thus in 1750 he wrote a report on the character of the French Company's servants (*Ministère des Colonies*, C^2 15). Save for those immediately connected with him, he speaks in one uniform tone of condemnation. One is a fool; another has no morals; a third is untrustworthy and corrupt; a fourth went bankrupt in France before coming out; and all this expressed with an acerbity of language which leaves a painful impression of Dupleix' suspicious and passionate character. Nor can we regard Dupleix as truthful. Where a lie will serve immediate interests, he prefers it to the

truth. When Mainville, etc., are prisoners in Mysore, he authorizes Ranga Pillai to say they were poor Frenchmen seeking employment at Mahé, just as he seeks to ruin Dulaurens by concocting evidence. This doubtless permitted him to fight Oriental Courts with their own weapons, but after all deceit is a weapon which the wise statesman avoids, which he never uses except for great objects or in desperate circumstances, and which even then seldom leaves him with an unquestionable balance of advantage; when it becomes an every-day expedient to overcome trivial difficulties or gratify personal malevolence, the balance of advantage turns decidedly against it, as happened indeed in Dupleix' own case.

MADRAS RECORD OFFICE,
January 6, 1916. H. DODWELL.

ÂNANDA RANGA PILLAI'S DIARY.

MARCH 1747.

Wednesday, March 15.[1]—When I went to the Governor's at eight o'clock this morning, Mahârâja Râja Srî Governor-General M. Dupleix told me he had issued an order as follows:—'All horses belonging to the Europeans and the Tamil merchants of this town are to be brought to the Company's stables and kept there. The horses will be given gram, grass and medicine, and the horse-keepers paid, at the Company's expense. After being taken out for exercise, they are to be brought back to the stables; and, so long as they remain there, the Company shall pay the value of the horses, should any be injured or die, either by reason of the Company's service or by the act of God.'

Before the Governor told me this, he said, 'To get news from Cuddalore, we must have a dubâsh who comes either from Madras or Cuddalore or Fort St. David. He must serve some English gentleman at Cuddalore or Fort St. David and make friends with the dubâshes of the principal people. They are sure to talk matters over; and he must report what he hears to proper people outside who are to report the news to us once every two or three days. You must find a suitable man, and he shall be paid fifty or sixty rupees a month. Get one soon. Besides this, get

[1] 5th Panguni, Akshaya.

a cook, or some one, to carry a note no larger than a bean to some of the French deserters who are living there; and then he may return. If the letter is marked with a cross, they will come at once. Do your best to get two men to see to these matters.' I came away, saying that I would do so.

I then sent for Venkata Reddi, meaning to employ him in this business. To arouse his desires, I promised him a hereditary post under the Company and the same to the person who should be appointed dubâsh, and said that I had asked for higher wages for them and that it would be given. I said all I could think of to raise his desires. He replied that he could get no one here but must bring people in from outside. I then suggested the man who used to be Mr. Stratton's dubâsh[1] and now is with Mr. Savage[2] at Madame Godivier's[3] house; but Venkata Reddi said, 'I do not know if he will consent. I will enquire and tell you to-morrow morning.' So he went away.

Afterwards the Governor sent for me and said, 'We have to send back the detachment that came from Kârikâl[4]. Let me have a note of the route

[1] See below under date May 1.

[2] John Savage arrived in India in 1726. He became Secretary at Madras in 1736 and was admitted of Council in 1743. He died at Fort St. David in 1748. He was at this time a prisoner in Pondichery.

[3] The name is conjectural; Ranga Pillai says 'Koduthiyô.'

[4] To join in the late abortive attack on Fort St. David. It consisted of fifty Europeans and fifty Topasses under an officer named de Jainville. It was sent back however under another officer. *Le Riche to Dupleix*, March 11, 1747 (*P.R.—No.* 7) and below under date March 16.

well to the west of Fort St. David and Cuddalore.' I wrote one in French, showing Villiyanallûr, Soranâvûr, Naduvîrapattu, Venkatammâlpêttai, Bhuvanagiri and Chidambaram, ten miles distant one from another.

He then ordered me to prepare, as I thought fit, a present for Mudâmiah[1] of Chidambaram and also a letter. The list contained the following;—

Two pieces of scarlet broad-cloth.
Two pieces of green broad-cloth.
Eight yards of red velvet.
Eight yards of green velvet.
One pair of pistols.
Twelve flasks of Hungary water.
Eight flasks of Imperial water.

An order was sent to M. Cornet[2] to get these things ready and to pack them up, and also to get three guides to carry them with a letter of compliment to Mudâmiah. The Governor also told me to write a friendly letter to Shaikh Ahmad[3], saying that M. Le Noutre was going to be sent as resident to Porto Novo[4]; that up to now we had kept no one

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[1] Deputy of 'Abd-ul-nabî Khân, Nawâb of Cuddapah, who enjoyed a jaghir in the south as well as the Cuddapah Country. *Madras Country Correspondence*, 1748, p. 5.

[2] Etienne Mathurin Cornet a *Sous-Marchand* and warehouse-keeper. Dupleix complains of his narrow-mindedness and inability to command, and states that he married a slave's grand-daughter. *Etat des Employés de l'Inde en* 1750. (Ministère des Colonies, C [2] 15.)

[3] Faujdar of Porto Novo. He played a considerable part in Dupleix' intrigues with Muhammad 'Alî Khân early in the year. See vol. iii *ante* p. 257 and *Naselle*, p. 87.

[4] Porto Novo was a great centre for the provision of blue cloth largely consumed at the French islands (as clothing for slaves), and to the Eastwards at Achin and similar places.

there, as there was no trade; that we were going to trade there in future and so were sending a European to our factory; and that all possible help should be afforded him. I said that the letter had already been written. He ordered it to be sent by the European who would accompany the sepoy detachment that is leaving for Kârikâl to-morrow night. I said it should be done.

Afterwards, the two Jemadars, Shaikh Hasan and 'Abd-ul-rahmân[1] came. They were ordered to raise two hundred additional sepoys and thirty horse. I was then directed to entertain five hundred poligars' peons and post two hundred of them round the passes in the Bound-hedge, and also one hundred Carnatic people armed with guns to the west of Âlambarai, so as to intercept and bring in all English letters from Pulicat.[2]

I accordingly told Vîrâ Nâyakkan to station 200 peons at the passes in the Bound-hedge, and he said that he would do so to-morrow morning.

Two days ago four ships sailed through the roads from Fort St. David towards Madras; and the alarm caused in the town was unspeakable.

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[1] These two jemadars appear to have been brought from the Malabar Coast in 1742, with a body of sepoys. (*P.R.--No. 60.* p. *515*). The sepoy horse appear to have been Dragoons, for later references show them to have been armed with carbines as well as with swords. Shaikh Hasan seems to have commanded the horse and 'Abd-ul-rahmân the foot; but I suspect that this arrangement was not invariable. (See the *Relation of the Siege of Pondichery* in the *Collection Historique*, London and Paris, 1758, p. 280).

[2] Alexander Baird was English resident at Pulicat, charged with sending to Fort St. David all news from the northward.

Thursday, March 16.[1]—The news of to-day is as follows :—

When the French went against Fort St. David, Karuppan, Vîrappan's younger brother, went with them as a spy, but he was seized and detained by the people at Fort St. David. To-day, however, he was released and so returned this evening with the following report :—'When the Englishmen, the soldiers and the servants of the Company heard that the French, who were coming to take Fort St. David, had seized the battery at Uppalvâdi and three others and had reached the garden at Manjakuppam, their strength failed them and they became as troubled as though they had trodden on the tigaippûndu.[2] Their hearts became cold, their tongues parched, and their hands dry. They placed now this with that, now that with this. They cried aloud. Some ran seeking a place of safety; the rich and the Councillors hastened with their wealth, goods, boxes and garments, their wives and children, to the Pâlâr and escaped to Mêttupâlaiyam in masulas and other boats. Those in the fort became feeble. Even the Governor was greatly perplexed and ran hither and thither, fearing the attack of the enemy and seeking escape; but he could not even order a boat. Had the French marched straight to the fort instead of halting at the Manjakuppam garden, every man in it would at once have fled without further

[1] 6th Panguni, Akshaya.

[2] A mythical plant, which robs all who tread on it of their senses.

speech. Then, all on a sudden, nine ships were sighted as though luck itself had taken that shape. As soon as they saw them, they hung between life and death till they knew whether the ships bore the English or the French flag. Only when they learnt that they were English ships did their lips grow moist.'

The ships arrived in time, and our people lingered till eight or ten o'clock after sunrise at the garden instead of advancing at once, because the English are destined to hold the fort yet longer. As the proverb says, 'Man proposes, but God disposes.'

Muhammad 'Alî Sâhib, the son-in-law of Husain Sâhib, came this evening from Arcot with four horses to fetch Badê Sâhib's wife. He said: 'The Nawâb, Husain Sâhib, Sampâti Râo, Anwar Khân, and the others at Arcot have all received the presents with boundless joy, not on account of the presents but on account of the friendship which exists between you and them. Your people[1] will return shortly and arrive in four or five days.' He also said that the Nizâm's forces were encamped on the other side of the Kistna, as, when he had advanced as far as Sîrpi, he turned against Mysore to collect the large sums of money due to him.

The first letter received to-day from Gôpâlakrishna Ayyan at Madras said: 'I wrote four or five days ago that the ship called the *Neptune* and

[1] That is, Kerjean and Delarche who had been sent with presents to Arcot to confirm the peace made with Anwar-ud-dîn Khân.

the English ship from Europe[1] which was captured at Madras, had sailed for Pondichery. When the ships reached Covelong, the wind failed them; so catamarans were sent and the ships are now back in the Madras roads. Some say that they returned because they feared that their provisions would run short if they were detained for four days by the wind. Others say privately that seven English vessels have reached Tranquebar, and that, as soon as this news came, the catamaran people were given 100 rupees and the ships were recalled. This evening twelve sailors escaped from the English ship into a boat and got away. Since the news was known, some merchants of the town have been carrying their goods into the Fort, while others, with the Commandant's permission, are carrying their goods, castor-seed, sesamum, etc., into the country. For the last two or three days, more and more goods have been carried off. With the aid of Râmachandra Ayyan some have bought and carried off one or two bales of shawls which Tarwâdi had here. I do not yet know how much they gave. When I learn, I will write. Till now, Râmachandra Ayyan never interfered in such matters. But now goods are being carried away by means of this man, dubâsh Chinnatambi, and Madame's people Venkatanâranappa Ayyan and Pâpayya Pillai. These things should be known to you.'

[1] The *Princess Amelia*, captured Feb. 16/27. *Cf.* iii, 390 *supra*. The French valued her cargo at 200,000 pagodas. *Conseil Sup. à la Compagnie* Oct. 11, 1747 (*P.R.— No. 7*).

A second letter dated the 12th of this month from Gôpâlakrishna Ayyan said: 'Ten peons were sent at sunrise this morning, with a letter desiring the Chief of Pulicat to seize the sailors who ran away yesterday. They say that the two ships which returned here will be sent off again to-night. The forty chests of silver on the English ship have been unloaded here, the other goods will remain on board. This should be known to you.'

At nine o'clock to-night, the Kârikâl detachment, consisting of a hundred Europeans and Topasses and twenty Tamil peons, who had come to assist in the attack on Cuddalore, under the command of M. de St. Martin,[1] returned thither with orders to march by way of Soranâvûr, Naduvîrapattu, Venkatammâlpêttai and Bhuvanagiri. I sent three of the Company's peons as guides, and a man belonging to the writer Parasurâma Pillai to pay their expenses on the way. They all set out to-night. Lest the English should be met with, three hundred sepoys were ordered to go along with them as far as Naduvîrapattu and to return when the detachment had safely reached that place.

I sent by M. de St. Martin the presents and the letter which were got ready yesterday for Mudâmiah of Chidambaram.

[1] Escappat de St. Martin, Ensign 1736, Lieutenant 1742; he was acting as Captain in 1747 (*P.R.*—No. 28, p. 471 and *Conseil Sup. à la Compagnie*, February 6, 1747, *P.R.—No. 7.*)

Le Noutre, who is going as resident to Porto Novo, also set out this evening with the letter to Shaikh Ahmad, the Amaldâr.

Friday, March 17.[1]—To-day the Governor ordered the Bound-hedge to be strengthened with two or three thousand bundles of thorn. He also told me to send for coolies from all the villages, and to send word to Sivanâga Reddi to collect as many coolies as possible, so that we might not be in want of them. While I was still there, he also said to M. Gerbault,[2] the engineer who is in charge of the works, 'Apply to Ranga Pillai for anything you want and he will provide it; don't be always coming to me.' He agreed and I promised my help. I then placed Periyanna Nayinâr and ten peons under M. Gerbault's orders and said to the latter in their presence, 'Periyanna Nayinâr will supply coolies to strengthen the Bound-hedge, and to do any other work, and he will obey you in all things.' I brought before him the chief people of the out-villages, Olukarai and Ariyânkuppam, and told them to send coolies when he wanted them. Thus the matter was settled.

Vallûr Hanumanta Ayyan, Jayanti Râma Ayyan's man, became alarmed when he saw the English ships and sold his paddy in large quantities. This

[1] 7th Panguni, Akshaya.

[2] Paradis was chief engineer, but, as he was absent at Kârikâl, Gerbault was acting for him. *Etat général de la dépense en* 1747. Cultru, p. 44. M. Vinson transliterates the name as 'Serpeau.'

alarmed the whole town, and as soon as his paddy was sold, the price rose and it was expected that it would rise in the villages also. But when people complained of this to the Governor, he answered, 'It does not matter [ ].'

I write, on another page[1] as briefly as possible, what I said to the Governor when he sent for me and asked about the Cuddalore news.

To-day is Friday; the constellation is Rôhini and the moon is waxing. On this auspicious day, Râmôji, the goldsmith, brought the new seal to Mahârâja Râja Srî Governor Mahârâjâ Avargal. He has made it like the old one but with new titles cut on it. As it has been brought to the Governor at such an auspicious time, many new and strange things may be expected. Because this day is auspicious, the two letters written to Muhammad 'Alî Khân[2] and to Imâm Sâhib's son were sealed with the new seal and despatched.

The Governor's titles are inscribed on the seal in Persian. They run, 'Acknowledging the supremacy of the Emperor Muhammad Shâh, the Victorious in Battle, He who is called Monsieur Dupleix, the Governor-General of Pondichery whose sway extends over Hindustan[3], renowned for his valour and success in arms.' This seal has been used for the first time for the letters to Pôlûr Muhammad 'Alî

[1] Apparently missing.
[2] Brother of Chandâ Sâhib and faujdar of Pôlûr.
[3] *i.e.*, Governor of all the *French* in India.

Khân and Imâm Sâhib's son, Hasan 'Alî Khân. The inscription is the same as the old one with the addition 'Muzaffar Jang Bahâdûr' meaning 'the valorous and successful in arms.'

Eight camels laden with ammunition were sent to Madras to-day with some Europeans and sepoys. It is said that they are being sent to bring back the silver that is there.

Saturday, March 18.[1]—The news is that M. Delarche[2], M. Cayrefourg[3], M. de Kerjean, and the priest, who went with the present to the Nawâb, reached my garden at sunrise this morning with a dress of honour and a horse sent in return. They left the horse at the garden, and, as the Governor was in bed, came here at seven o'clock, gave the dress of honour to me and went home. As soon as the Governor rose, I told him about this. Then M. de Kerjean called me and said, 'When we went to Arcot by way of Perumukkal, Muttu Mallâ Reddi entertained M. Delarche and gave many presents. He complained that you were harbouring the poligar

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[1] 8th Panguni, Akshaya.

[2] Son of a captain in the French service and of a Creole mother. Dupleix describes him as almost faultless save for his vanity, 'vice ordinaire de l'enfant de l'Inde.' He knew Persian, and married an Armenian woman. Cultru, pp. 49, 50; *Cf. ante* ii. 326.

[3] Surgeon-Major of Pondichery. Cultru, p. 44. European Surgeons (more or less qualified) played a considerable part in the diplomacy of those days. One need only mention the exploits of Manucci and the fact may be recalled that Dupleix maintained a correspondence with Delhi by means of a French deserter who had set up as Surgeon in ordinary to the Moghul.

of Âlattûr, stopping his letters to the Governor and Council and imprisoning his people. M. Delarche replied that he would go to the Governor and do this and that. Then we went on to Arcot.'

While we were talking of these matters, the Governor came up and asked what we were talking about. Thereupon M. de Kerjean told him what is written above, about the presents given to M. Delarche by Muttu Mallâ Reddi at Perumukkal, his complaints and M. Delarche's reply. I then said, 'Muhammad Tavakkal told me, when he was here before, that M. Delarche had asked him to get him a sword, and, when he went to Arcot, the title of Sikandar[1] Khân and a munsub of two or three hundred horse; and to ask the Nawâb and others to give him special presents for himself. I told Muhammad Tavakkal that you would not object if presents were given according to a man's deserts, but that otherwise you would be displeased. He then said he would not do what M. Delarche asked, but would put him off with promises. M. Delarche however has done just as he pleased while he was at Arcot. Compare the dress of honour and the horse that he has brought for you with those that he has brought for himself. He boasted at Perumukkal and made people believe that there was no one like him, and all to get something more out of them.'

[1] *i.e.*, Alexander, 'the victorious.' Delarche's name was Henri Alexandre.

The Governor said angrily, before M. de Kerjean, 'If anybody asked him, he should have said that such matters did not concern him and so departed. What business has he to make such answers? Let him come and speak to me about it and you shall see what I will say to him.'

At four o'clock this afternoon, I and the Europeans, M. Barthélemy,[1] and M. Duquesne,[2] together with the Poligar[3] went to the garden with music, to fetch the presents, the dress of honour and the horse which had been left there. The dress of honour and the presents for Madame were placed in the palankin and the big black horse was led in front of it. Eleven guns were fired when we entered the gates, and fifteen guns were fired from the Fort, when the dress of honour was presented to the Governor. When the presents were examined, it was found that the horse was black,[4] lame and old, and the dress of honour was old and worn, and not worth even a cash. Madame's [presents] were also old. When he had seen them, the Governor asked if there was any

[1] Louis Barthélemy was the son of a Montpellier merchant. He entered the Company's service in 1728, and at this time he was of the Pondichery Council, after serving in Bengal. In 1746 he was second at Madras under d'Espréménil, and, when the latter retired to Pondichery, became chief there; but refused to remain when he was superseded by Paradis. He married a daughter of Dulaurens. *État général des Employés en* 1750 (Ministére des Colonies, C[2] 15); Weber, pp. 466, 467; *Cf., infra* under date July 15.

[2] Ensign 1735; lieutenant 1738; appointed captain in 1748.

[3] An official corresponding with the Peddu Nâyak at Madras, who is also sometimes referred to by the same title. He maintained a body of peons and was supposed to prevent, or pay compensation for, robberies.

[4] Therefore inauspicious.

present for me. M. Delarche said there was, but he gave it neither to the Governor nor to me. Thereupon the Governor, having viewed the presents, said angrily to M. Delarche, 'You had better take away the present you have brought. What do you mean by bringing me such things? Take them away.' Then they all dispersed.

My present has not been given to me nor has any letter from the Nawâb been given along with the presents to the Governor. When asked why this was, he said that it would come later. On account of what was going forward at Fort St. David, M. Delarche and the other Europeans grew alarmed and fled, without getting any letters from the Nawâb and Sampâti Râo—as women say, they ran away with nothing but what they had on.

Sunday, March 19.[1]—As it was the feast day of M. Dupleix,[2] the troops were paraded at four o'clock this morning and volleys and great guns were fired.

M. Delarche, who returned from Arcot yesterday, said to the Governor, 'I saw Husain Sâhib and asked him to get us a grant of the four villages of Kirumâmpâkkam, Pûtturai, Odiyampattu [ ] as he had promised. He replied that when affairs were settled, and after we had promised not to attack Fort St. David, the Arcot troops were with-

1 9th Panguni, Akshaya.

2 March 19 is the Feast of St. Joseph, and so Dupleix' name-day. *Cf., supra.* i, 336.

drawn; and he asked how we could attack it after that; but, he said, if our troops were withdrawn now, he would get us a grant of the four villages. Muhammad Tavakkal added that Ranga Pillai had declared that Fort St. David would not be attacked.' The Governor said, 'Rangappan can never have said so, for he would have asked my permission first.' So saying, he called me and questioned me about the matter. I replied, 'I know nothing about it. When Muhammad Tavakkal was here, Husain Sâhib wrote to him to try and prevent the French from attacking Fort St. David. I said that it was no use discussing the matter, for you would not listen to anything, but that you and the English must settle your disputes as you pleased. He replied that he did not mind what was done after he had gone, but that no attack should be made before. Madanânda Pandit and Pîr Muhammad, Muhammad Tavakkal's man, were both present and heard this and I reported it to you at once.' The Governor said it was true.

I then added, 'When M. Delarche went to Nawâb Mahfuz Khân and Muhammad 'Alî Khân, when they were at the Kondûr Tope with the English, they asked him not to attack the English at Fort St. David. He replied that the French could do nothing except with orders from Europe and that they could say nothing of themselves. Did not M. Delarche tell you about it at the time?' When I said thus, the Governor said that it was true, and,

turning to M. Delarche said, 'Did you not tell me then what had taken place?' He replied, 'True, this matter was discussed when the English were in camp and when I was there. I told you what I said. I do not know what has happened since.' The Governor answered, 'But I know all about it. Rangappan would never say such a thing. But I do not know what Muhammad Tavakkal might have said to get out of a difficulty. He is a poor creature, a drunkard, and says whatever comes into his hot head.'

Further, I received a letter from Vakîl Subbayyan. It said, 'When M. Delarche was here with Husain Sâhib, Muhammad Tavakkal said that you had told him that the French would not attack Fort St. David. M. Delarche then asked contemptuously what right you had to say so and said it was no business of yours. He also boasted that no business could be done without him.'[1] I showed the letter to the Governor, and told him what M. Delarche had said at Arcot. He grew very angry with M. Delarche, sent for him and said, 'What do you mean by talking like this? What right have you?' He replied, 'I never said anything of the sort. I was talking Persian, and how came he to know it? I do not know why he should write thus. I assure you, I never said anything of the kind.'

To-day a letter was written to Husain Sâhib as follows.

[1] Literally, 'Without him there is no other world.'

'We never break our word, and always perform our promises. The Cuddalore people stopped nine Frenchmen coming from Arcot and took six of them prisoners. Again, the detachment marching from Kârikâl was molested and three stragglers seized. Moreover, our villages of Alisapâkkam and Timmayappa Nâyakkanpâlaiyam were plundered and burnt. Can they do as they please while we must remain quiet without doing anything? Is it well for you to allow them to act thus while we and you are friends? Will you give them the necessary orders or shall we do as we think best?' We sent this letter by a messenger on a camel, with a present of ten rupees.

I received a letter this afternoon, from Gôpâlakrishna Ayyan of Madras, saying, 'You will have learnt everything from my letter of yesterday. Two English ships are now anchored out at sea. A hundred soldiers and twenty-five Coffrees who were on board the ship here were landed at sunrise to-day and sent to Pondichery this evening. They say that the goods on the English ship that was captured some time ago will be landed to-morrow. At St. Thomas' Mount [ ] [1] certain English soldiers, who have been writing the news of this place to Fort St. David, intended to escape thither; but their letters were intercepted and, the night before last, a detachment was sent to seize them. When they reached the place, three Englishmen

[1] A word or two seem to have been omitted here.

escaped but one was captured and put in prison. The French spared all the Tamils' houses at the Mount but destroyed all the English houses, by piling up bundles of straw and setting fire to them; and having seized all the goods there, came back.[1] You should know this. Also, Râmachandra Pandit has obtained permission to remove Sankara Ayyar's sandalwood and other small goods and has been carrying them out since yesterday. All the goods of Râkki Chetti and Tyâgappa Chetti have been removed. Tutenague and a thousand pagodas' worth of other goods belonging to Lâlâpêttai Tâni Chetti have been carried away by his man Tânappan. It is said that permission has been given to remove 250 candies of alum belonging to a Kômutti. The Sunguvârs[2] have been allowed to remove their chests, looking glasses and so forth and their men are taking them out. Permission is given readily to all

[1] M. de Nazelle (p. 84) writes as though the plunder of the English villas at the Mount and the plunder of villages in the Arcot Country had been carried out at the same time by one expedition, under Mainville and Floissac. However La Villebague who mentions the second under Mainville, does not refer to the first (*Mem. pour La Bourdonnais, Pièces just.* No. ccxxx); and Foubert, who gives a full description of the first under Floissac, says nothing of the second (*Réfutation des faits imputés au Sieur Godeheu*, 1764, p. 95). Moreover if the two operations had been carried out at the same time, it must have been much earlier than March, for the Arcot villages must have been plundered before peace was made with the Nawâb. Captain Hopkins, the man who was made prisoner, was at the Mount on $\frac{\text{Feb. 27}}{\text{March 10}}$ when the Fort St. David Council wrote to him to collect 1,000 poligars' peons for the defence of Fort St. David (*Fort St. David Cons.* Feb. 27, 1747). That doubtless was the reason for Dupleix' action in burning the English villas, which was bitterly resented by the owners.

2 A Telugu family name.

who ask. This should be known to you. Râmachandra Pandit says to others, "See how goods are being carried away with no difficulty," as if he knew nothing about it; but nothing happens without his knowledge and he is at the bottom of everything. Yesterday a ship and a sloop were sighted and they are anchored out at sea. Some say they belong to the English and others that they do not.'

This evening, Mr. Hallyburton[1] of Fort St. David sent a letter to M. Law.[2] One of the peons who brought it was a Muhammadan who used frequently to go to Achin and was an acquaintance of the chobdar Muhammad Husain. He told the latter some Fort St. David news:—When the French attacked Fort St. David, the Governor and the rest were too alarmed to raise a finger. When the French seized and occupied the batteries, they became desperate and putting their property into masula-boats sent it up the mouth of the Paravaiyâr as far as Mêttupâlaiyam where it was put ashore. They had given up all hope. The fort would have fallen had the French advanced upon it. All the Tamil troops had fled.

As soon as I reported this, the Governor told me to inquire about it.[3] I asked them both, and, having written out a cowle, sent it to Kalyâna Nâyakkan.

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[1] John Hallyburton. See Love's *Vestiges*, ii. 322.

[2] See below under date June 18.

[3] From what follows, it appears that the desertion of the English peons is meant.

What happened this evening is [ ].

A copy of the cowle sent to Kalyâna Nâyakkan:

'March 19, 1747. By order of His Highness the Nawâb, Governor-General, M. Dupleix, Khân Bahâdûr Muzaffar Jang, I, Ânanda Ranga Pillai, write this cowle in favour of Kalyâna Nâyakkan. Whereas you are prepared to give up service at Fort St. David and take service here, I write what will be paid you and your people and what will be done for you. You shall be paid the same as a Commandant of Mahé sepoys. Ten of your people shall be paid for life the same as the Mahé sepoys. A hundred others shall be paid for a year at the aforesaid rate, and the rest, 500 or even 1,000, as many as will follow you, shall be entertained for two or three months or so long we need them, and shall receive the usual pay. If any die in battle, their wives and children shall be under the care of one of their own people and they shall receive a pension so long as they live.' Thus the cowle was written and sent, with this addition, 'You may trust our promise, and come and live here in happiness.' This cowle was given at once, together with a gate pass, to two of their people at half-past nine to-night.

I promised the two men a present of fifty pagodas if by means of the above-written cowle they broke up the Tamil soldiers at Fort St. David; and I gave them a present of ten rupees in advance. Moreover these two had already said that they would

bring over the Tamil soldiers at Fort St. David if a cowle were given in Kalyâna Nâyakkan's favour. I therefore told the Governor, and wrote and sent the cowle according to his orders.

Monday, March 20.[1]—The news of to-day is:—As yesterday was St. Joseph's Feast, the Governor's name-day, the Company's merchants visited him to-day with a gold chain weighing fifty pagodas and two pieces of percullas. The Governor received them, gave them pân supârî and sprinkled rosewater; and they offered their compliments. The Governor said that if the Councillors would only do as he wished, he would be able to act differently. They answered, 'Each of your victories means lakhs of profit to us.' He said he would give a contract, this month or next, to set trade going. They replied, 'Sir, it is well'; and so took their leaves. Whenever the merchants used to visit the Governor on this feast, they gave him two thousand pagodas and received an advance;[2] but as there is no contract now, it remains to be seen what will be done.

The mint people visited the Governor, as usual, with a gold chain weighing thirty pagodas and a roll of silk. As the washermen, the pressers, and potters paid no visit at the time when the Muhammadans came to make peace, I gave the washermen five mohurs and the other castes one mohur each, and introduced them to the Governor.

[1] 10th Panguni, Akshaya. [2] i.e. for the Company's investment.

Tuesday, March 21.[1]—To-day, I got an audience for Salatu Venkatâchala Chetti with the Governor. He had with him a gold chain of 30 pagodas' weight and said respectfully that he would exchange it later for one weighing 50 pagodas. The Governor said, 'Neither your master nor any other of the Madras merchants has come here; and the profit they have made by this is that they have lost their houses, money and valuables. They will see also what further happens.' He answered discreetly, 'My master has gone to Arcot about a law suit; else he would have come.' But without listening to him, the Governor replied angrily.

Muhammad Tavakkal sent a letter to the Governor along with others to M. de Kerjean, M. du Bausset [2], M. Delarche and Madanânda Pandit, and a Telugu letter to me, along with a yak's tail as a present from the Nawâb. I delivered the letters and interpreted the Governor's letter to him. It said, 'The Nawâb sent for me and said that he had heard that, after my departure, there had been a great fight between the French and the English, that the English men-of-war had come and that the French had retreated. He asked me if it was true. When I said that I had not heard of it, he told me to

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[1] 11th Panguni, Akshaya.

[2] In the time of Dumas, he 'exchanged the sword for the pen,' but, according to Dupleix, he was of little use. *Etat Général des employés en 1750* (Ministère des Colonies, C[2] 15). However the latter named him as one of his attorneys in 1754. Cultru, p. 49.

write and find out. So this letter is written that the troops may be at once recalled if they have not already been. The four villages would have been granted if he had not heard the news about Fort St. David, and that is why they are still withheld. Nizâm has crossed the Kistna and reached Sâvanûr and Bankâpuram on this side. It is not known whither he is going next. A copy of the parwâna sent by Nâsîr Jang to Anwar-ud-dîn Khân has been sent to Muhammad 'Alî Khân along with a flag and kettle-drums and so Muhammad 'Alî is being given nazars by all. This is the right time to send the hat you promised to Muhammad 'Alî Khân. The Maratha army and Bâpôji Nâyakkan are halted at Mirasi and his younger brother Appâji Nâyakkan has visited Nizâm and is marching along with him.'

On hearing this, the Governor said, 'It is false that a parwâna has been received from Nâsîr Jang; but still write politely that I am delighted and that if he will read my letter to Husain Sâhib he will understand why our army was assembled before Fort St. David. Write to Muhammad 'Alî Khân congratulating him on having received the kettle-drums and saying that a hat is being sent. Also write to Muhammad Tavakkal that, as he has received the title of 'Salik Dâûd Khân,' and as his seal has only 'Muhammad Tavakkal' on it, we have made and are sending him a new seal. Ask him to use it always and to send as soon as he can a parwâna for the four villages.' Accordingly I wrote

a letter and sent it to Muhammad Tavakkal. According to the Governor's orders also, I sent Muhammad 'Alî Khân a gold-laced hat with a red plume together with a letter of congratulations. I also wrote to Muhammad Tavakkal and Muhammad 'Alî Khân about the yak's tail sent to me and other matters.

The Governor sent for me at eight o'clock to-night and said that the headman of the Pallis[1] had presented a petition saying, 'Ranga Pillai has appointed Vîrâ Nâyakkan headman of the Pallis. We will not obey him. If orders are given to provide so many men, we will be ready with them. At the victory of Mylapore we fought like good sepoys; but instead of taking us into service, Ranga Pillai sent for Vîrâ Nâyakkan, who was formerly banished for thievery and with the help of the peons under him got certain things done. We know this. We have amongst us five hundred trained match-lock people.' The Governor gave me this frivolous petition telling me to read it, and said, 'They say that you sent for Vîrâ Nâyakkan who was banished for his crimes and appointed him chief of the Pallis. Should you do so? They have presented this petition, M. Ranga Pillai, and whatever the need may be, Vîrâ Nâyakkan cannot be appointed their head.'

I said, 'Sir, be pleased to hear.'—'Well, go on,' he said. So I continued, 'You ordered me to tell

[1] A low caste, engaged principally in agriculture. See Thurston's *Castes and Tribes*, v., pp. 472 &c.

the Nayinâr[1] to get a hundred peons. I sent for him and told him to do so. He replied that he could not, and that he would continue to serve if permitted or else give up his post. Then he disappeared for a whole day. I sent for him and asked him where the five hundred trained match-lock people were, explaining that he would not have to pay them himself but that I would get the usual pay from the Company, whilst he would have the credit of having raised 100 men and you would not grow angry at their not having been supplied. In spite of all I said, he still replied that he could not do anything and told me to send for Nallatambi, Appu and Pichchakuppan (the headmen of the Pallis), and for Savari, and ask them. So I sent for the Palli headmen together with Savari and told them to choose out of the 500 trained match-lock men, 100 to be enlisted and paid by the Company, so that they might earn a good name and that you might regard them as men capable of service in time of need. I said this to make them understand the urgency of the matter, but in spite of it they answered that no men could possibly be had. Thereon I told them that they must not say so, that they had promised to supply five hundred men whenever needed, and that, if now they refused to find the hundred men I asked for, you would get angry and

[1] The chief of the Company's peons. This affords an example of a man's name being transferred to his office. The 'Arumpâtai' is another case of the same thing.

insist on five hundred being found (else why should so much ammunition have been wasted?). To this they answered that some had gone to Madras, some to Kârikâl, Fort St. David, Cuddalore and elsewhere and that none were to be found. In spite of all I could say, they went away declaring that none could be had. I then sent for Savari, the dog-catcher, and reminded him that he had promised, if he were entertained, to furnish a hundred people whenever wanted, and asked him to collect them. But he gave me the same answer at their instigation. If I had told you all this when you were about to attack Fort St. David, you would have got angry and asked why I could not arrange to supply a hundred men, and how in this big town this man and that could refuse to furnish them. Therefore lest you should call me a useless man, I sent for Vîrâ Nâyakkan and the Âlattûr Poligar, and got ready two hundred men. You then wanted three hundred and they were furnished. They were given muskets and sent with Vîrâ Nâyakkan to attack Fort St. David. When I told you about this, you merely said, "Very well." As soon as news was received about the fight, and the retreat from the batteries, I told you about it and who had written the news. In spite of all this, they are now petitioning you.'

The Governor answered, 'True; is his son still living outside the town?' I said, 'Yes, for when Muḥammad Tavakkal asked for his pardon, you

said he was a thief and could not be admitted. But it was on your orders that I asked his father and his family to come here.' So saying [ ].

Thursday, March 23.[1]—The Governor sent for me this morning and said, 'Yesterday you gave me a bill of exchange for 30,000 rupees from Tarwâdi on Guntûr Bâlu Chetti of Madras. Write an order to M. Dulaurens, and I will sign it.' So I wrote, and got it signed and gave it to Guntûr Bâlu Chetti. He gave it to M. Dulaurens who examined it and gave 32,240 rupees—32,000 [*sic*] for the bill, and 240 rupees for the cost of remittance.

M. Le Noutre, son of La Morandière,[2] was recently sent to Porto Novo with orders to accompany the Kârikâl detachment. Instead of marching along with them by way of Villiyanallûr, Soranâvûr, Surappûr and Venkatâmpêttai, he went by way of Ariyânkuppam and Marikrishnâpuram to Tiruvêndipuram, skirting the Bound-hedge of Fort St. David, and meaning to join the detachment when it reached Bhuvanagiri, and accompany it to Chidambaram. But the English, learning that he had gone by way of Tiruvêndipuram, pursued him, so that he had to fly as far as the banks of the Vellâr. As by then the detachment had crossed the river and reached Chidambaram, the English who had halted on this side of the river returned, and afterwards M. Le

[1] 13th Panguni, Akshaya.

[2] Nicolas de La Morandière was an old servant of the *Compagnie*, but never rose higher than Book-keeper. He died in 1735.

Noutre went to Porto Novo. As he had left his goods, chests and cot behind him on the way, the English on their return from the Vellâr found these things had been seized by the customs people at the Râmâpuram barrier south of Cuddalore, and they carried four chests, some women's cloths and a cot into Fort St. David. The news arrived here the day after the detachment left for Kârikâl, and it was said that the boxes and goods were those that had gone along with the detachment. I reported it at once to the Governor. As M. Le Noutre had lost his goods and also chests containing rupees to a considerable amount, he remained at Porto Novo in great agitation of mind. He was moreover alarmed and perplexed by rumours that were spread there that 2,500 Moghul horse were coming to the help of Fort St. David, that four or five thousand people had disembarked from the ships[1] lately arrived, and that ten to twenty more ships were expected. When he heard these things, Le Noutre believed them to be true, became greatly alarmed and lost all his senses and courage. Fearing that he would not be safe if he remained at Porto Novo, he returned thence and arrived to-day, having gone farther about than the detachment did. He at once reported to the Governor all that had befallen him on his journey and at Porto Novo, the capture of his goods and chests by the English peons, the

[1] Probably Griffin's squadron which reached Fort St. David March $\frac{2}{13}$, and did actually land men for the defence of the place.

rumours at Porto Novo, his fear of remaining there, his escape by a round-about way and his arrival at Pondichery.

When he heard this story, the Governor was too angry to contain himself, and sent for me. When I went, he related everything to me, laughed with scorn, and turning to M. Le Noutre said,' Are you the son of a Frenchman? Are you quite a fool? Did not Mahfuz Khân go to Trichinopoly with only 200 horse because the horsemen were crying for their pay and refused to follow him? How could you expect them, when they were threatened by a flood of Marathas and had no cavalry to defend the passes? Don't you know all this? Even if they did come, what could they have done to you at Porto Novo? If they had seized you, don't you know what I should have done? And even if you had been seized and killed, would the whole kingdom have been turned to ashes? How dare you, the son of a Frenchman, stand before me and speak thus, even though it had all been true? But as you were born in India, you have no courage.' Moreover, having so said, he added with great anger, 'Get out of my presence, go.' He went near him four or five times as though he were going to beat or kick him. He looked so very angry that I thought he was sure to beat him; but he refrained, as the other was a Frenchman and of a good family. If a Tamil said such things, I am sure the Governor would hang him on the spot. I cannot describe his anger

against Le Noutre to-day and the reproaches he made him. So I have written it but briefly.

I sent Appâvu and Vîrâ Nâyakkan to meet Sêshâdri Pillai of Chingleput and bring him in. They met him and brought him in at noon. What he has come about is as follows :—When the French attacked Fort St. David, they entered the bounds, seized the batteries and were about to attack the Fort, when ten ships arrived and the French thereupon retreated. While these were the facts, it was rumoured at Chingleput that the Governor and others, myself included, had gone; that, when we entered the bounds, they had set fire to cartridges hidden under powder mines and strawricks on both sides of the road, that the Governor and 1,500 French had been killed; that Kârikâl had been seized and Pondichery surrounded. Another rumour was that, though the Governor and I had not gone, nearly a thousand persons had been killed, Kârikâl captured, and Pondichery surrounded. Hearing this, Sêshâdri Pillai came here in order to fetch his children home without himself entering the town. On his way, he requested Uyyâl Sêshâchala Nâyakkan to be ready with palankins, dhoolies and men for his children. But on his arrival he found the reports all false.

Friday, March 24.[1]—A translation of a letter written by Gôpâlakrishna Ayyan from Madras on March 21:

[1] 14th Panguni, Akshaya.

'The goods on the Europe ship[1] consist of 250 candies of copper, 25 chests of mercury, 45 chests of borax, 15 bales of broad-cloth and wine, etc. At ten o'clock to-night the captain of the English ship which anchored out at sea the night before last, sailed nearer the ships which lie anchored in the roads. Thereupon the captain fired four guns—and he[2] sailed back to his former position. This should be known to you.

'Of the 42 chests of silver landed from the ship, two have been carried to Mylapore by Guntûr Venkanna Chetti's son, Râmânjulu, and Malmandâ Kêsava Nâyakkan, with the help of Râmachandra Pantulu, to be coined into rupees and brought back. This should be known to you. I will write about other matters later on.

'M.de La Touche[3] says that he will take the letters for Europe when he goes in eight days' time. Of the goods in the town some have been sent northward in some ships on the petition of Jayanti Râmanna and Râmachandra Pantulu and some have been carried out with the help of dubâsh Nallatambi and Râmachandra Pantulu. Certain matters are being done very freely. When we compare what is done now and how matters were

[1] I suppose, the *Princess Amelia*.

[2] Presumably the captain of the English ship.

[3] I am not clear as to which La Touche this was; there were two families, as well as a third called indifferently 'La Tour' and 'La Touche'; but I think Ranga Pillai means the Company's servant, Galliot de La Touche, son of the late Master Attendant at Pondichery.

managed by Kandappan, it is plain that such things used to be done less freely. He behaved with great caution. Under him, some profited while others were accused. This is all that has happened. Write of your welfare and what is happening with you, and how I should act.'

This is the news contained in the letter received from Madras to-day, and those who wish to know it may read it. It surprises me that, though such a town as Madras has newly fallen into our hands, yet no intelligent and suitable man has been appointed to guard and keep it in order. As the master of Pondichery does not know how to govern properly, and will hear no advice, the town is going to ruin; and not only are the town and its inhabitants being ruined, but the Governor, M. Dupleix, has brought disgrace on himself in more ways than one. Firstly, whatever he does of himself, he does wrongly, for he always acts without taking advice. Secondly, his wife wants to share in the government. In order to gain power and influence she has been forward in sending messengers to the merchants at Madras. She has sent thither two thieves, Pâppana Pillai and Venkata Râo, a Brâhman, thus using her power in order to make money. Thirdly, the master of Madras [1] is deaf. He can understand

[1] Duval d'Espréménil, brother of the Duval de Leyrit who became Governor of Pondichery, and son of d'Espréménil, the Director of the Company. He is stated to have been born at Pondichery; in 1743 he married Anne Christine Françoise Vincens, sixth child of Madame Dupleix by her first husband; he was chief at Madras for a short time in 1746 and again in 1747.

nothing unless it is given to him in writing. As he is the son of a rich man, he does not know that it is very difficult to make money. As he has not a cash and is eager to get money by the basketful, he will do whatever he is asked, for the promise of a cash or two. He has never lived in the realm of intelligence. He does not know how to conduct business and has never learnt how to exercise authority. Ignorance lives in him. Not only has such a man been appointed, but his wife also would try to get fibre out of a stone and would handle even a green snake.[1] Speak of money to her and she will stick at nothing. She exercises all authority. Moreover there is no proper dubâsh to manage affairs. There is only Râmachandra Ayyan, a Maratha Brâhman who was sent there to serve in the Beach office,[2] and he is assisted by dubâsh Nallatambi of Tanjore—a man who has never seen the face of a cash and lives by picking up cheroot ends. What wonder that the town is ruined when these people are together? Any one of these evil men would ruin the country; but when three or four are joined together, what may not happen? Any wise man can see. I cannot write at full length, so I have written but briefly.

If the Governor had told me to manage the affairs of Madras, I would have advised him what to do, and have written to the merchants and others there to do nothing without orders from here;

[1] Ranga Pillai's affection for Madame Dupleix overflows into praise of her daughter.

[2] *i.e.*, in the Sea Customs.

nothing should have been done without orders. But if I tell the Governor that certain things should be done, and write accordingly, the people there and his wife here, who are moved by selfish motives, write differently. As he listens to his wife, he tells me not to interfere, and says, 'Let us see what Madame advises.' He makes no proper enquiries; nothing is done properly. Such conduct brings no profit either to the Company or to the Governor. The merchants lose their hard-earned money, and the Governor his reputation. Seeing that he cannot govern properly the town in which he lives, how can he be expected to govern a distant and important town like Madras? The wise will understand. I cannot give details, so I have written but a little.

This evening a packet came from Mahé, having been twelve days on the way; but its contents are not known.

Ignace, who has been to Chêtpattu and Gingee, has been sent back with some Company's peons and a letter pardoning the French and other Europeans who have deserted to those places. I gave him also twenty rupees. I also wrote a similar letter of pardon to Lévy and sent it by a peon.

This evening I and M. Changeac[1] went for a drive to Muttayya Pillai's garden. We reached it

[1] Ensign in 1740; now a lieutenant. Ranga Pillai has already recorded a curious story of his insubordination, ii. 70. I think he must have been a son of the Captain Changeac who was killed at Mahé in 1726. (*Registre du Cons Souv.* ii. 104.)

nearly half an hour after sunset. A burning star, as long as a palmyra tree, fell from the north-east towards the south-west. I cannot describe its brightness. It was as bright as the full moon. M. Changeac, who was with me, said, 'This forebodes a rebellion in which many will die or the death of Nawâb Anwar-ud-dîn Khân.'—'Do Europeans believe such things?' I asked. He replied, 'Such predictions are always fulfilled.'

I will now write what happened at eight o'clock last night.

Two letters were received, one from our Vakîl Subbayyan at Arcot and the other from Nawâb Anwar-ud-dîn Khân, at eight o'clock on the evening of Thursday, the 23rd of this month. The Nawâb's letter said that the presents of cloths, etc., sent by M. Delarche, M. de Kerjean, M. Cayrefourg, a priest [ ] and Muhammad Tavakkal had been received according to the list, that a dress of honour and a horse had been sent to the Governor and that other matters would be related by the Europeans who would soon arrive. This letter was not taken by M. Delarche, M. de Kerjean and others when they left the place, because, though the munshi had been ordered to write it, yet, before it was ready, the Fort St. David news arrived and they, fearing what would happen to them, ran away. So it was left behind. Subbayyan has sent it on and relates what took place at Arcot after M. Delarche and the others left. 'It was rumoured

here that the French had attacked Fort St. David, entered the bounds and seized the English batteries, but that the English had returned to the fight and slain a thousand Frenchmen, while the English fleet had captured Kârikâl and come to Fort St. David to land 10,000 Coffrees, English and Rajputs, that at once the remainder of the French troops had fled to Pondichery, that the English had seized Ariyânkuppam, surrounded Pondichery, and resolved to attack the French by sea, and that Pondichery could not hold out long against them. Nawâb Anwar-ud-dîn Khân, Husain Sâhib and others sent for me and asked if the news was true. I said it was false. They had sent ten pallas[1] of wheat to Pondichery but would not have done so if the news had reached them before; as the news of the defeat only reached them after it was despatched, they resolved to send a man to Perumukkal and the neighbouring places to stop it. Only after the camel people returned, did they recover their peace of mind. Husain Sâhib was very glad to receive his letter. Besides this Muhammad 'Alî Khân Sâhib and Nawâb Anwar-ud-dîn Khân forbade help being sent to the English. Muhammad 'Alî Khân means to go to Conjeeveram. Nizâm-ul-mulk has

[1] The Palla, according to Wilson's *Glossary* was only 10 markâls (at Pondichery 600 markâls = 1 garse); this however would give a smaller quantity than the context seems to indicate; the measure referred to may be one of the Deccan pallas, which are given as 236 lbs. and 365 lbs. See Kennet's *Ready Assistant* (Madras, 1833).

come this side of the Kistna.' He also wrote about our trading affairs.

I thought I had best not tell all this to the Governor, but only the contents of the Nawab's letter. After hearing it, he asked whether the vakîl or my gumastas had sent no other news. When he asked this, I feared to say nothing, and told him what Subbayyan had written, as related above. When he heard this, there was no limit to his anger, and he asked me why I had not told him. I replied, 'You ordered me once not to repeat such news, so I said nothing about it.' But, without abating his anger, he said, 'Why should I send a hat to Muhammad 'Alî Khân? It is not to be sent.' I replied, 'The hat and the letter were sent off this morning. They will have gone a long way by now. What can be done?'—'I don't think so,' he said; 'I will give a pass to have the gates opened now. Send a peon to bring them back.' He said very angrily, 'Muhammad 'Alî Khân, who wishes to attack us, may offer terms for himself. Write to Husain Sâhib that we will attack Arcot, and send to the choultry[1] Husain Sâhib's son-in-law who has come here. But as you and the Muhammadans are very close friends and as you do much business in their country, you will not dare to put him in prison.

[1] The Choultry, at Pondichery as at Madras, was a custom-house for goods brought in from the country, a court of first instance, and a prison.

I will send for the choultry writers and order them to take him to prison.' He said all this with great anger and told me to write a letter to that effect. But I replied, 'What reason have we to write so? They will think we are afraid if we write that we will attack them. We should not write so.'—'What should we write then?' he asked. I answered, 'M. Delarche says that they have promised a grant of the four villages on condition that the troops sent against Fort St. David are recalled. If we write, pressing them to fulfil this promise, it will be better.' His anger subsided when I said this; he became calm; and a letter was written to Husain Sâhib as follows: 'We have sent a hat for Muhammad 'Alî Khân. Let him wear it and may our friendship become like the friendship of brothers.' I was also to write for the grant of the four villages that he had promised. A letter of compliment was also written to Muhammad 'Alî Khân saying that a hat had been sent for him. These letters were written and sealed, and a letter was also sent to Subbayyan. Another letter was also written to Muhammad Tavakkal. In the letter to Husain Sâhib it was also said, 'False rumours are being spread from the government of Muhammad 'Alî Khân. If this continues, it is well,—we are prepared for whatever may happen. What is broken cannot be made whole again; and as we have come to an agreement by your means, you must look to its maintenance.'

If the Governor grows angry at what is done under his government, it is difficult to transact business. Things are settled somehow, but it gives great trouble to those who work under him.

[*Sunday*], *March 26.*[1]—A hundred Mahé sepoys arrived from Madras at seven o'clock to-night with eight camels bringing goods from Madras; two of these were laden with cannon. We heard the day before yesterday that a camel had fallen down as they were passing by Âlattûr, which is 10 miles the other side of Sadras. So I sent a letter to a person there with fifteen rupees for the hire of bullocks to carry the goods here.

Sêshâdri Pillai set out for Chingleput at two o'clock this afternoon, that being an auspicious hour. Thence he proposes to go to Madras to see Muttayya Pillai about Pâpâl's[2] marriage; if the latter agrees, it is well, and if not, he is to seek some other suitable person and bring him. I too went as far as Nainiya Pillai's choultry, bade him farewell and returned.

In spite of the operation performed on his right eye three years ago, M. Élias[3] has grown no better; but this afternoon in the third watch Âlattûr Pachchai Nâyakka Mudali and his nephew performed an operation on the left eye, and the eye was bandaged. It is said he is better already.

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[1] 16th Panguni, Akshaya.
[2] Ranga Pillai's daughter.
[3] An Armenian long settled at Pondichery, and the father-in-law of Delarche.

Monday, March 27.[1]—This morning I reported to the Governor that there were 30 of the Vêttavalam poligar's men, and about 500 of Venkata Reddi's and Sivanâga Reddi's sepoys with some matchlockmen; that another poligar had lately come with a hundred men from Siyâlavâr; that at a fanam a head, each cost four rupees a month; that there were besides some native officers, and seven or eight horsemen, and that the Âlattûr poligar was here with two hundred men. 'Very well,' said he, 'give them a rupee each and send them off. But give two yards of broad-cloth as well to each horseman and matchlock fellow.' So we gave a rupee each and the broad-cloth to all except the Âlattûr poligar's men and sent them away. The cost is written separately. They promised to depart early to-morrow and took their leave. Moreover the Governor ordered me to send by them fitting gifts for their masters.

Tuesday, March 28.[2]—This morning the Governor wrote a letter of compliment to His Highness Mahfuz Khân Sâhib, and ordered me to write and say he had received the dress of honour that Nawâb Anwar-ud-dîn Khân sent in return for the presents that were packed up and sent by some Europeans a time back. I sent the letter at day-break by two peons to Trichinopoly.

When our European troops marched back to Kârikâl, one was left behind in the Venkatâmpêttai

[1] 17th Panguni, Akshaya. [2] 18th Panguni, Akshaya.

woods. I sent Muttu the head-peon and four others to fetch him. They brought him in this morning, at nine, in a dhooli. I was told that Muttu had bound the Olukarai watchman and beaten him with a slipper, for not bringing the man in. The Nayinâr confirming this, I scolded Muttu for doing so.

The news from Cuddalore is as follows:—150 bales have been sent from Fort St. David aboard a sloop; another sloop is being laded; since the last fight they have dismissed a hundred horsemen and a thousand sepoys[1]; they are building large ramparts round the fort, and are turning the course of the Gadilam so that it may flow south of the fort straight into the sea instead of bending away to the south-east.[2] Linga Chetti and other Madras and Fort St. David merchants have been asked to buy the following goods from the Europe ships:—250 bales of broad-cloth, gold lace, chests of coral, mercury and red lead. Linga Chetti is coining pagodas and rupees[3] at Cuddalore, which is crowded with

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[1] The earliest mention I find of the dismissal of peons is in the Fort St. David Consultations of July 23, 1747, where it is stated that 860 were dismissed on the 17th, O.S.

[2] This news seems highly anticipative. It was not resolved to make alterations in the defences until $\frac{\text{March } 30}{\text{April } 10}$ (*Fort St. David Consultations* 1747); and it was not till $\frac{\text{April } 25}{\text{May } 6}$ that it was decided to turn 'the Tevenepatam river,' which I suppose means the Gadilam, into a ditch round the foot of the glacis on the west and north. *Ibid.*

[3] Linga Chetti had been the contractor for the Madras mint ever since 1739. (*Madras Pub. Cons.* May 14, 1753.) As soon as the *Britannia's* bullion was received at Fort St. David, a mint was opened under the old contractor.

merchants and dubâshes from Madras; but these have left their women and children elsewhere. The men-of-war that lately arrived are under Mr. Griffin Commodore, and Mr. Peyton is now under him also. There are altogether 1,500 men on board,—300 soldiers and the rest Muhammadan lascars. They are building earthworks at the Bound-hedge and near the fort.

In order to discredit my reports, an East Indian woman from Cuddalore told Madame that there were no sepoys, and no guns in the works at the Bound-hedge, that the ship said to have come from Europe[1] was only a country ship, and that my reports were quite false. She also told this story to the Governor. He always repeats at once just what he hears. Believing her, he sent for me, and said, 'I hear that there are no guns on the outworks and no sepoys; you said that the ship lately arrived came from Europe along with the one we took at Madras; but it is only a grain ship—so an East Indian woman from Cuddalore tells Madame, who made her repeat it to me. Your spy misleads you.'—'I don't believe her story to be true,' said I, 'but we shall see.' And indeed all my reports proved true for when our troops attacked the place, they could not come near the walls for the guns; three or four thousand sepoys made a sally from the fort; and a letter from M. Barnewall at Cuddalore confirmed

[1] The *Britannia* arrived on March 5, *N.S.*

what I had said about the ship. This is an old business and I say little about it, but the Governor's reputation has suffered by his believing stories like this.

To-night at eight, as the Governor ordered, I sent to Madras the four elephants and the three camels (received from Taqî Sâhib) with eight Company's camels and twenty Mahé sepoys to fetch silver.[1]

Wednesday, March 29.[2]—Venkatapati, the Company's peon, returned to-day from Fort St. David. He reported to me as follows: 'I gave the letters to Mr. Hinde, Governor, and Mr. Griffin Commodore, who sent me away, saying that an answer should be sent by a man of their own. The peons kept me for a time near the fort and then led me outside the Bound-hedge. They say that Mr. Morse is coming from Tranquebar, and some big gentlemen and soldiers have been sent to meet him. The day before yesterday eleven chelingas reached Fort St. David from Negapatam and Tranquebar with some English women, their children and baggage[3]. Till now Cuddalore was undefended, but they are mount-

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[1] 41 chests of silver were found on the *Princess Amelia*, of which 33 were carried to Pondichery. *Conseil Supérieur à la Compagnie* November 30, 1747. (*P.R.—No.* 7.) *Cf.* p. 31, *supra.*

[2] 19th Panguni, Akshaya.

[3] The Dutch at Pulicat refused to receive English women and children from Madras; but the refugees from Fort St. David were sheltered at Negapatam. *Fort St. David Council to the Company*, October 17, 1746. Le Riche wrote to Paradis, October 4, 1746, that three married women, two girls and seventeen children had arrived at Negapatam on a Dutch ship. (*P.R.—No.* 83.)

ing guns and posting soldiers, in order to protect the English women and children there.'

Thursday, March 30.[1]—To-day Bâppu, the Company's peon, came back from Chêtpattu with a letter. The six soldiers there will return, but Mîr Sâhib[2] has advanced them 26 rupees; that must be paid and a letter written to him. I therefore sent Bâppu and another peon back with the money and a letter. The Governor also sent a letter to the Commander.

It is said that when Nizâm went to Sâvanûr and Bankâpuram, the Nawâbs of Kandanûr, Cuddapah and Adoni visited him and then returned home. Nâsîr Jang is said to have gone to Aurangabad, but men doubt whether Âsaf Jâh will move against Mysore or Arcot. This news came in a camp letter from the vakîl of Miyân Sâhib of Perumukkal, and he told me. I told this to the Governor, and he asked, 'Why have not the Arcot people visited Nizâm-ul-mulk?' I said I did not know, but later news would tell.

Friday, March 31.[3]—This evening I heard from Subbayyàn at Arcot. Muhammad 'Alî Khân has had a letter from the English and told Husain Tâhir[4] that their shipping had come. 'Then,' said he,

[1] 20th Panguni, Akshaya.

[2] He is called in the English records Mîr Asad-ul-lah Khân and was brother to Mîr Husain Khân, faujdar of Valudâvûr.

[3] 21st Panguni, Akshaya.

[4] The killedar of Vâlikondâpuram, known to the readers of Orme as Volconda.

'the French ships also will soon arrive.' Muhammad 'Alî Khân said that the English would soon take both Pondichery and Madras; but the other said they would not. Thus they disputed. Muhammad 'Alî Khân has secretly asked Anwar-ud-dîn's permission to go to Fort St. David and help the English. As Anwar-ud-dîn made him promise with an oath not to go, Muhammad 'Alî Khân is sorely disappointed, for he had meant to go to Conjeeveram and collect money from the weavers who were rioting there. Husain Tâhir is angry because the French have not given him 7,000 pagodas for his house at Madras, but have only offered him another house instead; and because they have prevented Badê Sâhib's wife from leaving [Pondichery].

I told this news to the Governor. 'But,' said he, 'let Husain Tâhir be as angry as he likes.'

APRIL 1747.

Monday, April 3.[1]—News coming that the camels and elephants were on their way from Madras with the silver, twenty-five European and fifteen Mahé horse, along with two hundred Mahé sepoys and fifty peons set out this evening to meet them.

Wednesday, April 5.[2]—A few days ago I heard from Porto Novo that a sloop from France was being chased by the English. Though it was doubtful I went and told the Governor. 'I don't think,' he said, 'a sloop can have come from France. If it is ours, though, the English will not catch it. One may have come, but I don't know—.'

But to-day I heard from Mullâ Sâhib at Kûnimêdu and Merkânam by runner. He says that a brigantine is sailing up, chased by the English; it looks like a French ship, and is likely to be run ashore. The letter came at three this afternoon and I at once told the Governor. 'She must be one of our ships,' he said, 'if she is hugging the coast.' We talked for a time, and then I went to my nut-godown to sleep while the Governor went for a drive. At nine o'clock I heard that she had gone aground between Merkânam and Âchikkâdu, that the crew had got ashore with their despatches and would reach Kâlâpêttai some time to-night. I told this to the

[1] 24th Panguni, Akshaya. [2] 26th Panguni, Akshaya.

Governor at once and after some talk returned to my nut-godown at ten. I went home half an hour later, and at eleven I heard that the crew had reached Kâlâpêttai [1].

Thursday, April 6.[2]—The wrecked crew got here this morning at six. They had on board nothing but provisions and ballast. I have since heard that after they had escaped, the English reached the sloop in two boats.

According to the despatches, when she left Mascareigne on the 10th January, seven ships had arrived there, five Company's and two king's ships; Monsieur La Bourdonnais who was Governor has been recalled [3] and Monsieur David sent instead.

The Honourable Governor Monsieur Dupleix has received a cross like the one Monsieur Dumas received [4]. It hangs on a black ribbon, and he is now called *Chevalier de Saint Michel* [5]. The fort fired twenty-one guns when it was received at eight this morning. I at once went to the Governor's house, got twenty-five mohurs, and offered them as a nazar, with my respects. The French Gazette says that the

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[1] The ship was the *Brilliant*, one of the two English ships that Porte-barré took off Sadras in September 1746. The French captain tried to destroy her, but failed. *Conseil Supérieur à la Compagnie*, November 30, 1747. (*P. R.—No.* 7.)

[2] 27th Panguni, Akshaya.

[3] La Bourdonnais had asked permission to resign before the Madras expedition. *La Bourdonnais, Documents réunis*, p. 52, n. 1.

[4] See *ante*, i. pp. 42, etc.

[5] In 1737 Dupleix tried to get the cross of St. Lazare, despising the cross of St. Michel because it had formerly been bestowed on an Indian, Guruvappa. Cultru, p. 153.

Queen of Hungary's city has been taken by Prussia, and that 16,000 English and Dutch troops with twenty-three high officers have been made prisoners.[1] The king is going to take the field on the 1st May next.

I gave away sugar to-day, had fireworks, hung the streets with garlands of mango-leaves and set up plantain trees near my nut-godown. Thus we rejoiced with great splendour; and I gave notice by the chief of the peons that to-morrow also there would be rejoicings, and that all the houses should be lit up and decorated. I petitioned the Honourable Governor also that on account of his cross he should reduce the price of betel, and he, sending for Vâsudêva Pandit, ordered him to sell it at nine leaves a cash, to please the people[2].

The sloop which went aground has been got afloat by the English sailors, who have stopped her leaks and carried her to Fort St. David.

The Governor, hearing that Safdar 'Alî Khân's son[3] is being put to school at Wandiwash, has sent the following presents.

[1] This appears to refer to the events of 1745—the Treaty of Dresden (December 25) which ceded Silesia and Glatz to Prussia, and the capture of seven towns by Saxe in the Low Countries (July 1—September 5).

[2] The sale of betel and tobacco, alike at Pondichery and Madras, was a Government monopoly which was farmed out. At Pondichery it produced about 11,000 pagodas; at Madras, 10,000 pagodas. *Reply, dated October 20, 1742, to the Compagnie's letter of November 25, 1741* (*P. R.—No. 6.*) Also List of Fixed Revenues in the *Madras Consultations, 1744.* The price had been already lowered to 9 leaves a cash in honour of the capture of Madras (*ante* ii. 320), but had been put up again (*ante* iii. 282).

[3] 'Alî Dôst Khân.

Broad-cloth, scarlet, 4 rolls		
Broad-cloth, green, 4 rolls		
8 rolls	160	pagodas.
Cloth of gold, 10 yards at 18 pagodas ...	180	"
Red velvet, 20 yards	80	"
Gold galloon, 2 marcs	28	"
Silver ditto, 1 marc	12	"
Sugar-candy (instead of Hungary and Imperial waters), 1 pound	2	"
One large mirror	10	"
Total ...	472	pagodas.

These we sent by Chinnappayyan on horseback with ten peons. He also carried letters to Safdar 'Alî Khân's wife, to Muhammad 'Alî Khân,[1] to Taqî Sâhib[2] (Safdar 'Alî Khân's brother-in-law) and to 'Alî Naqî Sâhib.[3]

M. Le Noutre left at five this morning with twenty peons for Porto Novo. He was to go by Ulundûr, Pâlaiyamkôttai and Chidambaram. His route was written down for him.

Friday, April 7.[4]—When a decoration is given, one who has already received it should bestow it on him who is to receive it. Some one who already was a Chevalier of Saint Michel should have taken the Governor's cross, made him kneel in the church after service, struck him three times on the shoulder with a drawn sword, and then given him the cross. But there

[1] Killedar of Pôlûr.
[2] Killedar of Wandiwash ; he married a daughter of Dôst 'Alî Khân.
[3] Son of Taqî Sâhib. *ante* i., 158.
[4] 28th Panguni, Akshaya.

was none to do so. Instead, he himself hung it round his neck. He came out at seven this morning and passed through a lane of Mahé sepoys up to the East Gate of the Fort. Thence to the church-door was a lane of military with their officers, with swords drawn and flags flying in the Governor's honour. As he entered the Fort, there was a salute of twenty-one guns. When he went into the church, the sepoys fired a volley, and the ships and the Fort twenty-one guns each. As the service began there was another volley from the military and a salute. Before he left the church, there were three volleys and three salutes. As he departed, all saluted and waved their swords and flags. On his coming to the East Gate, they thrice shouted *Vive le roi*, and a salute was fired. There was yet another of twenty-one guns when he reached his house.

Chandâ Sâhib's son then visited the Governor, presenting him with a handsome plume set with rubies, and receiving in return a roll of scarlet and another of green broad-cloth. The jewel looked beautiful in the Governor's hat. Then the chief people of the town came to make their salaams. I will set down their names and what they gave. Tânappa Mudali gave fifteen mohurs rolled up in paper. He prostrated himself before the Honourable Governor like a fallen palmyra tree, and, clasping both his feet, offered his congratulations. The Governor told him twice to rise. At last he did so and stood on one side.

The Company's merchants gave	...	11	mohurs.
Salatu Venkatâchala Chetti	...	3	"
Sêshâchala Chetti	...	3	"
The cloth merchants ...	...	5	"
The coral merchants ...	...	1	"
The weavers	...	1	"
The men of Muttiyâlpêttâi [1]	...	1	"
The Foreign weavers [2] ...	...	1	"
The potters	...	1	"
The blacksmiths, carpenters and artisans	...	2	"
The arrack-sellers	...	3	"
Guntûr Ravanappa Chetti	...	5	"
The people of Ariyânkuppam	...	3	"
The Kômutti caste	...	1	"
The Vellâlas...	...	3	"
The Mint people	...	9	"
The petty bazaar men ...	...	5	"
The Nayinâr...	...	3	"
The people of the out-villages	...	3	"
The oil sellers	...	1	"
The people of Olukarai ...	...	9	"
The toddy-drawers	...	3	"
The painters [3]	...	1	"
The cotton pressers ...	...	1	"
The washermen	...	5	"
The tobacco sellers ...	...	5	"
The money changers ...	...	4	"
The head of the Chettis ...	...	1	"
The indigo merchants ...	...	2	"
Total	...	96	mohurs.

[1] The cloth-washers' village. [2] Speaking Canarese and Telugu.
[3] i.e., the painters of chintz.

This morning Arumpâtai Pillai and Vinâyaka Pillai paid their respects to the Governor with a present of 100 pagodas. As this day he has received and put on the cross of St. Michel, men played on vînais and trumpets when he dined at noon. When they finished dinner, when dessert was served, and when they rose from table, salutes of twenty-one guns were fired.

In the evening we also had fireworks, with much hanging of garlands and setting up of plantain trees, and made merry.

At half-past five this morning three volleys and three salutes of twenty-one guns were fired.

When I was speaking with the Governor, he asked, 'Have you not yet sent the letter to Monsieur Delarche at Conjeeveram?' I said I would hasten it.

Meanwhile a priest, Père Hyppolite, of the Capuchins, appeared, and said, looking at me, 'Rangappan has disappointed us.' The Governor asked him, 'How?' He answered that I had given sugar among all the houses of the Hindus, and in the European quarter also, but given none to the Christian converts. The Governor pouted and said, 'Is that all the matter?' The priest, seeing it, said, 'He may of course do as he will with his own; but our people being envious told me this story.'

Monsieur Mathieu, thereon, said I had given sugar throughout the length and breadth of the town; that he had been deafened by the sound of my trumpets, and even his slave-girl, who went to

look, got a handful. On this the company burst out laughing.

Saturday, April 8.[1]—This is the news of the day :—

A European fiddler of the Governor's,[2] having double-loaded his gun, shot himself at four this evening. It is said that when Mahfuz Khân came here on the 26th or 27th of February about the peace, this man stole the younger Miran's [3] hat and till yesterday kept it hid. But then he got it valued and gave it to a man to sell. But when the man showed it for sale the younger Miran recognised his hat and asked, 'How came you by it?' He pointed out the fiddler, who was called and asked the same question. He said he had got it from a hawker, whereon the case was reported to the Second.[4] Then the brokers were called together

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[1] 29th Panguni, Akshaya.

[2] For Dupleix' love of music, see Cultru, p. 138. Music at dinner, however, seems long to have been considered essential to a Governor's dignity. Fryer at Bombay mentions the trumpets that 'usher in his courses and soft music at the table.' For an early example of a fiddler in Bengal, see *Hedges's Diary*, ii. 217.

[3] Appointed 'Sous-commis' in 1740. His brother, who was of Council and Mint-Master, died in 1748. The younger Miran was often employed in voyages to Achin and the Eastwards, but Dupleix says contemptuously 'du reste assez borné et sans ouverture d'esprit.' *Etat général des employés en 1750 (Ministère des Colonies*, C [2] 15.)

[4] Ranga Pillai calls him the *chinna dorai*, the little lord, in contradistinction to the *Doraigal* or Governor. The Pondichery Council consisted of the Governor, the Second, the first, second, etc., councillors, and certain other supernumerary and honorary councillors. The Second always presided in the Choultry Court (see *ante* p. 37). At this time the Second was Alexandre Legou. In the previous volumes *chinna dorai* has been translated 'Deputy Governor.'

and the fiddler was ordered to point out the one who had sold him the hat. He answered, 'He is not here but there are others; I will point him out to-morrow.' Therefore it was ordered that the rest were to appear this evening, and everyone went home. But the fiddler thought how he had always been an honest man, and had been treated with kindness by the Governor; but now would be punished and dishonoured. So he took the matter to heart and resolved for this trifle to take away his life,—such was his fate. As by killing himself he proved himself to be guilty, the Governor ordered that his body should be dragged at the cart's tail through the streets and then cast outside. As it was too late to-day, it was ordered to be done to-morrow.

Sunday, April 9.[1]—This is the letter that I sent this day to the Râjâ of Malabar and the superscription of it was thus:—The Possessor of Happiness, the Lord of many lands, the Sun among princes, the Lion among Kings, the Treasure-house of Light, Mahârâja Râja Srî Udaya Mârtânda Râjâ.[2] The petition of Ânanda Ranga Pillai, who humbly bows. By your favour till now I have lived in safety at Pondichery. I pray to be informed of your victories, your glory and your happiness. I have

[1] 30th Panguni, Akshaya.

[2] Mârtânda Varmâ, Râjâ of Travancore, reigned from 1729 to 1758, and greatly extended his territories, even at the expense of the Dutch, who were much at war with him. See Galletti's *Dutch in Malabar*.

read and understood my lord's letter to the Governor-General Mahârâjâ,[1] and I have heard the words of the pandit, your Court poet. The Governor has written to the Chief of Mahé according to your letter, as my lord may have heard. For the rest, when we send your Court poet back we will send news by him, and he shall have a letter for the Chief of Mahé. Your Lordship will hear all further news from him. Let me hear of your welfare and how I can serve you.' This letter I sealed and sent.

Monday, April 10.[2]— This, the first day of the new year, being the first year of the cycle, begins with the first *tithi*, the first *yôgam* and the first *karana*.[3] Men expect therefore the new year to be fortunate.

This is the news of the day :—Of the English ships that arrived on March 12 or 13, three or four with one or two sloops have till now been lying near here, between this and Madras, in order to seize merchants' ships coming here from the northward, carry them to Fort St. David and there sell their cargoes. Thus they have prevented goods from being brought here. To-day they all sailed towards Fort St. David, but two have returned and are lying one to the north and the other to the

[1] The diarist does not trouble to write out the complimentary epithets bestowed upon Dupleix.

[2] 1st Chittirai, Prabhava, Constellation Asvini.

[3] For an explanation of these terms the reader may refer with advantage to Dîwân Bahâdûr Swâmikannu Pillai's *Indian Chronology*, Madras, 1910.

south of the roads.[1] What further happens I will note afterwards.

Within these twenty-five days, since the English squadron arrived, a Bengal ship, wearing the Dutch flag, has been seized. Her cargo was landed at Fort St. David and five Frenchmen on board have been imprisoned in the Fort.[2] One is brother to Monsieur Delarche, and the latter has written to Muhammad 'Alî asking him to write to the Governor of Fort St. David about his brother. I forgot to mention this before.

This evening Monsieur de la Touche arrived from Madras.

Now the new year has begun, I believe my future to be bright and my troubles over. May God protect me this year, and help me to make large profits, pay off my debts and recover what is owed me, as the Vaippûr [3] astrologer predicts.

Tuesday, April 11.[4]—Nothing important has happened to-day. On behalf of Monsieur de Bury's

[1] The effects of this blockade, which prevented grain vessels from reaching Pondichery, were severely felt, while plenty reigned at Cuddalore. *Cons. Sup. à la Compagnie. November 30, 1747* (*P.R.*—No. 7). This was accentuated by the failure of the N.E. monsoon in 1746. The Pondichery grain duties were taken off early in 1747.

[2] The ship was called the *Rotterdam.* But it appears that the Dutch flag was a mere device to elude the English squadron. Dupleix appealed to the Dutch Council at Negapatam, but they answered that they knew nothing of the ship. Griffin offered to exchange his prisoners, and when Dupleix refused, sent them off to Europe. *Cons. Sup. à la Compagnie, October 11, 1747* (*P.R.*—No. 7).

[3] A village in Tanjore.

[4] 2nd Chittirai, Prabhava.

son, we have written to the Killedar of Arni asking that Shaikh Muhammad Sharîf's family may be detained there; to Muhammad Tavakkal asking him to explain the matter to the Nawâb and get a letter sent from him to the Killedar; and also to the vakîl Subbayyan.

To-day I received a letter from Kandappan at Kârikâl, and Mr. Morse sent a Tamil letter to Madame Dupleix. The runner brought both together. Mine was addressed, 'The humble petition of Kandappan laid at the feet of M.R.Ry. Pillai Avargal.' Madame Dupleix saw this.

She thinks that if she were Chief Dubâsh, she would make a fortune out of it. Having got the Madras affair into her hands, she has taken Pâppana Pillai and the Brâhman Venkatarâman into her service—two cunning fellows, who have been trying to persuade the Madras merchants to come and settle in Pondichery; but as they demand five or six thousand pagodas as a present for her, all the merchants have refused to come. But Tirumangalam Duraiyappa Chetti has said he will give her 4,000 pagodas and the Governor 10,000 and signed a promise to that effect. This has made her think she is the mistress of the three worlds, and ever since she has been trying to find me out in some fault so that she can get rid of me. She thinks I am very cunning; that the Governor does all that I tell him; that I give him profits that might go to her; and that he in consequence does all the

business through me. So she has been hating me more than words can tell.

Now a month or so ago Tambi Chetti of Madras sent her a letter. It came late, about eight o'clock, and, thinking they would be at supper, I put the letter into my table-drawer, meaning to give it her next day, and went home. But I was very busy over the peace with the Nawâb, and I forgot all about it. Nârâyana Pillai came and asked me if I still had Madame's letter that had come the day before. I explained that I had been busy and forgotten it, and had forgotten even to read a letter of my own; and then gave him the letter. Madame Dupleix was furious. She exclaimed that she could get me hung for this, and would, were it not for my wife and children. She even called me shameful names before the dubâsh Appu, Varlâm, Nârâyana Pillai and a head-peon; and, as I was not there, she told them to repeat to me what she had said. They softened her words down a little. But I explained to them why I had not sent the letter, and, said I, 'Let me be punished if I kept it on purpose. Does she think I kept the letter to read? I knew what was in it beforehand. Did it accuse me of murder or theft that I should hide it? What reason could I have had to keep it back?' And so I sent them off. But now, she opens my letter from Kandappan, makes Appu read it, seals it up again, and sends it to me. As soon as I saw it I thought something was wrong with it, and sent for

the head-peon. He told me what she had done, and another person told me so too. I know not how God can permit such things. None should act so. Later, Appu came. 'A letter came,' he said, 'from Kandappan of Kârikâl; Madame wondered which Kandappan it was, and I told her he was your gumasta, so she was satisfied.'—'The pair of you,' I retorted, 'could only satisfy your curiosity by reading the letter.' He changed countenance at that, and stammered out, 'We are not the only people who make mistakes; great folks can always avoid consequences, though poor ones can't.'[1]—'She wanted to hang me,' I said, 'for only keeping her letter a day; but what should be said about her opening and reading mine?' So he departed.

Friday, April 14.[2]—The Honourable Governor has given me written instructions about where the peons are to be posted. In the day time all are to be stationed at the Valudâvûr Gate. But at sunset fifty are to go by the Villiyanallûr Gate and along the beach as far as Alisapâkkam, returning in the morning. A hundred are posted at the Custom House[3] to be on the watch for any alarm. Another fifty are to patrol from the Villiyanallûr Gate along

[1] In allusion to Ranga Pillai's not being punished for keeping Madame's letter.

[2] 5th Chittirai, Prabhava.

[3] The old custom house was demolished when the defences were completed on the sea side. At this time a palm-leaf shed was being used as a custom-house, just outside the Sea Gate. *Reply of the Cons. Sup. dated January* 10, 1749, *to the Compagnie's letters of* 1747 *and* 1748. (*P.R.—No.* 7).

the beach as far as Ânanda Ranga Pillai's Choultry, coming back in the morning. A third fifty are to patrol from the Valudâvûr Gate to the Bound-hedge, watching the out-villages and the space between the Ariyânkuppam river and Pâkkumudaiyâmpattu ; and another fifty are posted beyond Ariyânkuppam and must patrol the bounds from there to Alisapâkkam. So he has given orders and distributed the watch among three hundred men. I have told Malayappan to see that this is carried out from to-day.

To-day people came from Safdar 'Alî's wife with four dishes of sweetmeats and a letter in return for what was sent when her son was put to school. I also received a letter, and to-night we sent off two, one a letter of thanks from the Governor, and the other from myself.

Tuesday, April 18.[1]—When I went to the Governor's at eight this evening, he called me in, and told me he had received good news from Tranquebar, that the sloop sent thence had reached Manilla safely, sold its cargo well, and come back to Tranquebar.[2] I asked the runner who had brought the letter what the news was, and he said that fifteen ships had arrived at Kârikâl and the people there would write about them. I told the Governor this at once. 'People tell stories like this,' he said, 'because ships are expected. They must be on their way, but the news is

[1] 9th Chittirai, Prabhava.

[2] This was another device for sheltering French trade from the English squadron. Success led to its repetition.

false. I don't know who could have told the runner such a story.'

Saturday, April 22.[1]—I have had a good omen today. My palankin boy, Râman, was asleep by the palankin about noon, as it was very hot. He had a dream, woke up suddenly, hastened to my nut-godown and stood gaping there as if he were thunderstruck. Elaichiyappan said to him, 'What are you looking like that for? What's the matter?'—'I went to sleep just now by the palankin,' the boy said, 'and then I saw two beautiful girls. Their appearance dazzled me. They were covered with jewels and precious stones, one exactly like the other, with braided hair. Their jewels shone with gold, and I was so astonished at them that I did not notice what kind of dress they wore. They came from the west and were followed by a train of people and a Reddi woman. I thought the two girls went into the nut-godown and sat down one on each side of Ranga Pillai who was sleeping on a pillow on the eastern verandah; but the Reddi woman sat on the verandah on the other side of the godown, and the street in front was crowded as if with an army of people. But I started up suddenly and there was no one, and I have come to see who the girls were that came just now. Perhaps I dreamt it, for there is no one inside, but I wish I knew whether the girls really did come or not.'

[1] 13th Chittirai, Prabhava.

Elaichiyappan came and told me this just I was going home at noon. We shall see what good news this dream foretells.

The news from Fort St. David is that Mr. Hinde, the Governor, has been very ill and had a fit, but is now recovering. Mr. Morse's wife has come to Fort St. David on a sloop. The daughters of Mr. Croke, the Second there, have come back in chelingas with their baggage from Negapatam and Tranquebar whither they went when the French attacked Fort St. David.

As soon as Madame Morse arrived, she made acquaintance with Mr. Griffin and stayed three days with him. Mr. Hinde, the Governor, went to see Mr. Griffin. 'Madame Morse,' said he, 'came and saw me when I was sick, but she ought not to stay in your house. What have you to do with her? Both the Europeans and natives will talk scandal, and you will lose your good name.[1] '—'She came here,' Mr. Griffin replied, 'to consult me about her husband's surrender of Madras and about his coming here.'—'But he must go to Europe and submit his accounts to the Court. They cannot be examined here and it is no use inquiring into them,' said Mr. Hinde. To this Mr. Griffin answered that she wanted a statement signed by the Fort St. David Council and the captains of the squadron, that

1 This gossip regarding Madame Morse seems to have been widely spread among the French. Le Riche alludes to it in a letter to Duploix, dated September 25, 1747. (*P. R.—No.* 83).

Mr. Peyton had carried the ships right away, that the fort was surrounded by houses, that the French, though they did attack, were not expected to do so as the place was within the Moghul's dominions, and that thus the fort was given up to the French, Mr. Morse not being to blame. 'For his coming here,' Mr. Griffin added, 'if the Council will send him a letter telling him to come, I will do so too.' The Council have accordingly written a letter which with one from Mr. Griffin has been sent to Tranquebar. Madame Morse is now living at the Company's Garden at Manjakuppam.[1]

I also hear from Fort St. David that a dismasted ship has put in, and that two catamarans and two Brâhmans have arrived from Tellicherry and Anjengo with news that ships and men are coming from Bombay. It is said that when they come, Pondichery and Madras will be attacked. The damaged ship is reported to be one of four that attacked a French ship. Two were sunk, one escaped we don't know where, and this one has reached Fort St. David with some wounded men on board.[2]

I also hear that the ship newly come from Europe[3] has been laded with 1,400 bales and sent

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[1] On March $\frac{4}{15}$ a large house in the Colloway was bought for Griffin's use, as the Manjakuppam Garden was inconveniently remote from the Fort and the beach. *Fort St. David Cons.* March 4, 1747, and *Despatch to the Company* of May 2, 1747.

[2] I have found no confirmation of this.

[3] That is, the *Britannia*, but she was still in the roads on $\frac{\text{April 29}}{\text{May 10}}$. A country ship sailed for Bengal about $\frac{\text{April 23}}{\text{May 4}}$. See below under date May 22.

on to Bengal. She sailed with two men-of-war as a convoy, and they are sending off the rest of their bales as well. The fort is being strengthened a good deal on the north. They have coined 25,000 star pagodas and are going to coin 50,000 or 60,000 more. All this is since Linga Chetti came, who used to be in the Madras Mint.[1] He is coining rupees like those that were coined at Tiruvâmiyûr and Chintâdripêt with a fanam and three-quarters of alloy. All this, and the other news I receive daily, I tell at once in full to the Governor. Here I only note it down shortly.

A letter has come from Arcot saying that three more years, as usual, have been granted to Anwar-ud-dîn Khân and he has been told to pay up all his arrears. On this, everyone went and presented nazars. Nizâm-ul-mulk is going to Golconda and will encamp there. Bâpôji Nâyakkan who went to make peace with the Marathas has come back; his brother has presented Nizâm-ul-mulk with a hundred mohurs, an elephant and a horse, and received presents in return. Nizâm-ul-mulk has paid up the *chauth* on condition that the Marathas will not go into the Carnatic.

Sunday, April 23.[2]—The injustice which is being done at Madras is indescribable. All the merchants there possess lakhs of money. It is not like other towns, where you may find ten rich men

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[1] See above p. 41.

[2] 14th Chittirai, Prabhava.

and all the rest beggars. The people there never believed that the French would capture it. When that happened, they were taken by surprise and only a few could carry off their ready money; the rest hid theirs under their hearth or in their garden, and carried nothing away with them, some because they thought the fort was not built of wax to be captured so easily and some because they believed the English would soon recover the town. So they left behind all their wealth—money, goods, grain and furniture; and all was plundered by those Mahé sepoys. Down to the wretchedest cooly, everyone got much plunder ; no cooly got less than a hundred pagodas; and how much must have been made by M. de La Bourdonnais, the officers and Company's servants? The Jemadar of Mahé got two lakhs of pagodas. How can the amount of plunder even be guessed at? When this city of Kubêra was pillaged, each got according to his luck and his rank. All this does not matter ; it was a time of war; there is no reason to question what was done. But since the French flag has flown there, the runaway inhabitants, including all the rich men and the Company's merchants, have unluckily for themselves been thinking of all the woes that might happen to them under the French instead of reflecting that one can live quietly and happily under any ruler. 'The French,' they have been saying among themselves, 'will make us all Christians by force. They are not tolerant like the English, and will allow us no liberty.

Their punishments too are severe. They will hang us and cut our ears off; nor will they listen to our complaints. Besides, perhaps the English will reconquer their city, and how then can we stand before them?' For these reasons they have remained where they are. And the Governor has not employed honest persons to make inventories of the goods or to take care of them. All he has done has been to write to the officer there to take care of them. The latter of course employed rogues to get money for him. They began to steal in bands, giving him his share. Those who feared for their goods agreed to give up a half or a quarter of their property on condition of being allowed to carry away the rest. The goods of those who had run away were divided, a chair to the master and the rest to the knaves. In these and other ways they have been stealing goods there. But when I report these matters to the Governor, he flies into a passion for a few minutes, but all he does is to tell me to write to the merchants promising to give them back their property if they will come and live at Pondichery. He has been telling me to write letters like that to the merchants ever since the French sailed against Madras till the 30th of March. They have always replied about their grievances and begged the Governor to do something for them; but he only gets angry and will not give the right orders. Just to save the Governor's credit, I have had to tell the merchants that it is their own fault and due to what they themselves have written,

Such have been my letters and their answers. At last I send Vengupâthu Kandi Venkayyan, Varadayyan and others to settle the matter directly. The merchants however still refuse to come, saying that the English will never give up Madras and that they are expecting ships from Europe. Then Madame Dupleix tells the Governor that I am making lakhs out of the business. She writes to M. Friell[1], (son-in-law of M. d' Auteuil's wife[2]) who has taken much loot at Madras and is coming away, and also to M. d' Esprémémil and sends a pair of thieves—Pâppana Pillai who took shelter here after having been imprisoned, put in the stocks and chawbucked for fraud at Madras, and Pâpayya Venkatan who came to Pondichery to collect debts due to the Mint and gave Madame a thousand pagodas, promising to bring her thousands upon thousands and lakhs upon lakhs, telling lies like that. These go and speak with Tambi Chetti and other people who have left Madras. Fearing she may think them useless they tell Tambi Chetti and the rest not to give

[1] Jacques Friell (called Briell in the preceding volumes and by M. Vinson) is said to have been Irish by birth. He resided for some time at Canton and then came to Pondichery, where he married Marie Rose Françoise, eldest daughter of Marie Albert (Madame Dupleix' sister) by her first husband, Aumont. Thus he is alluded to as nephew (in the loose fashion of the time) of Dupleix. He was sent to Madras as English Interpreter in 1746 and returned to Pondichery in July 1747. For the facts regarding his marriage I am indebted to M.R.Ry. A. Singâravêlu Pillai, Premier Ecrivain at the Pondichery Public Library who very obligingly searched the Etats Civils for me.

[2] Marie Albert married in 1741 as her second husband Louis Hubert Combault d' Auteuil.

true answers either to my men or to any one else from Madame; and then they go and tell her that the Madras merchants can give no answer so long as they are being solicited on both sides. Therefore Madame tells the Governor that I am making a fortune out of the matter. He sends for me, and says, 'As you have failed to get the merchants to come here, Madame says she will do so. Tell your people at Madras to have no more to do with the merchants, but to continue writing about the thievery and all else that goes on.'

Wednesday, April 26[1].—Kumaran, a Chetti boy employed in a tobacco bazaar, was coming back from the Saptâvaranam feast[2] at Tiruvêndipuram, but found the gate of the English Bound-hedge closed, and none allowed to go in or out. This, he was told, was because the Governor, Mr. Hinde,[3] died last night at seven o'clock. He then walked westward round the Bound-hedge and came to Ariyânkuppam where the head-man sent him into Pondichery with a peon. This news has been confirmed by a runner on his way from Negapatam to Sadras who called at the Dutch factory at

[1] 17th Chittirai, Prabhava.

[2] *Saptâvaranam* literally means 'the seven enclosures.' It is here applied to the great procession on the last days of the festival at Tiruvêndipuram.

[3] John Hinde arrived in India in 1743, being sent out as fourth of Council and to be Deputy Governor of Fort St. David if Monson refused that post *Despatch from England*, February 4, 1742. He had previously resided in Bengal (*Considerations on . . . thoughts on our acquisitions in the East Indies*, 1772.

Devanâmpattanam,[1] leaving there this morning. One of our spies at Fort St. David also came and told us so. I at once went to tell the news to the Honourable Governor, but he had driven to his mother-in-law's [2] house. I waited for him till five and then went to the house where he was, to tell him. But if that is so,' he said, 'would they not have fired minute-guns?' I said I did not know. 'Then,' said he, 'find out.' I went to my nut-godown and sent a suitable man to inquire. We did hear guns at eight to-night. To-morrow we shall know how many. The reason why guns have been fired is that Mr. Hinde, Governor, died at the Garden house at Manjakuppam yesterday. They were fired when his body was being carried to the Church at Devanâmpattanam to be buried.[3]

Arumpâtai Pillai's son, Muttayyan, who was imprisoned last Monday week, was released to-day, because Appu Mudali gave the Governor 2,000 rupees. But what can I say of the Governor's wisdom? He told me to get Arumpâtai Pillai into a difficulty and make him pay 10,000 rupees. I had nearly succeeded in doing so, but now he releases

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[1] The Dutch factory was a strong building 700 yards to the north of Fort St. David. The English later in the year desired leave to demolish it, but the Dutch refused. *Fort St. David Consultations*, August 31 and September 14, 1747, and *Fort St. David Council to the Company*, February 13, 174$\frac{7}{8}$.

[2] *i.e.*, Madame Albert *née* Jeanne de Castro.

[3] There was no English church at Fort St. David at this time. Hinde was probably buried in the cemetery north-west of the fort. No trace of his tomb remains.

Muttayyan for the 2,000 rupees that Kadâkumaran has sent him by Appu Mudali. He takes what he can get, and his ill-luck prevents him from getting more. Appu got for this 500 rupees and ear-rings set with square emeralds. This is true.

Friday, April 28.[1]—Nâsîr Jang has been appointed Nawâb of Kandanûr, Cuddapah, Arcot, and the other countries this side of the Kistna. He is coming with Bâpôji Nâyakkan, a Maratha, and has full powers to collect the dues from Mysore and settle all accounts in these parts. He has received two elephants, horses, swords, bows and arrows, seven dresses of honour and other things. Nizâm-ul-mulk himself girded him with the dagger, placed the sword in its sheath and gave him his blessing. People say that Nâdir Shâh who pillaged Delhi is going to advance again against it, and Nizâm-ul-mulk has been asked, and is about, to move thither.

Nâsîr Jang has written ordering Anwar-ud-dîn Khân to march with his troops, or, if he cannot go, to send Muhammad 'Alî instead, and he has also commanded Anwar-ud-dîn to send men to settle all the accounts. When the letter came, Sampâti Râo visited Husain Sâhib Tâhir to consult with him, and then the latter with his son and some others went to see Anwar-ud-dîn Khân. After they had given nazars, the Nawâb took council with Sampâti Râo and Husain Tâhir, and they resolved to

[1] 19th Chittirai, Prabhava.

get ready 3,000 horse and some foot. The news from Trichinopoly is that Anwar Khân[1] and Munawar-ud-dîn Khân[2] have fought, the former losing twenty and the latter thirty men; Munawar-ud-dîn fled but was pursued, and has agreed to Anwar's demands. It is said that when the Nawâb heard of the fight, he set out at once, but learnt that they had come to terms when he was halting at Vâlupuram. There are various reports about what he means to do now. Some say that he will recall Mahfuz Khân from Nâsîr Jang; others that he will join Nâsîr Jang in person; and others again that he will march against Tanjore to recover the arrears of tribute. It is also written that he has sent two or three times to Muhammad 'Alî, who is with 300 horse at Conjeeveram, and the latter has promised to return. But he is building a big house there, is delighted at having raised 14,000 pagodas from the weavers, and has an Englishman of rank[3] and eight peons with him. He often speaks with the Englishman and sends messages to Fort St. David. All this I have related to the Governor.

He has written a letter of congratulation to Nâsîr Jang and one also to Imâm Sâhib[4] asking

[1] He seems to have been connected with Chandâ Sâhib.

[2] Anwar-ud-dîn's brother.

[3] I do not know who this could have been.

[4] In 1740 Imâm Sâhib was Governor of Âlambarai, but, on the death of Dôst 'Alî, he left the Carnatic, as Safdar 'Alî was hostile to him, and joined Nâsîr Jang. In 1744 he seems to have been imprisoned, but later he acted more or less as the representative of the French interests. *Cons. Sup. à la Compagnie*, October 1, 1740. (*P.R.*—No. 6) and *Mémoire pour la Compagnie contra Dupleix, Pièces Justificatives*, p. 8.

him to present the former to Nâsîr Jang with 21 mohurs. Other letters have been sent to vakîl Subbayyan and Singâram of Arcot telling them to give the first letters to Imâm Sâhib. Copies of all are kept. The letter to Nâsîr Jang says, 'We congratulate you on being put in possession of the Deccan, and are glad to hear you mean to come this way. We send you a present of 21 mohurs and Imâm Sâhib will speak to you about other matters. We trust that you will do as we ask.' The letter to Imâm Sâhib said, 'We are sorry you still have not replied to our former letter, in which we offered to exchange Madras for the districts of Villiyanallûr and Valudâvûr. Now that Nâsîr Jang is in possession of the Deccan, we request you to ask him to give us those districts in return for Madras, which we are willing to give up.[1] Besides this, you must get letters written in Nâsîr Jang's name to be sent by messengers to the English, Dutch, French and Danes, commanding them to cease fighting and to keep the peace in the Moghul's country, and if they must quarrel, to fight it out in their own countries and not elsewhere, otherwise their trade

[1] In February 1747 the Conseil Supérieur wrote to the Compagnie proposing three ways of dealing with Madras, (1) to keep the place in order to exchange it for Louisburg when peace should be made with England; (2) to sell it back to the English Company; (3) to exchange it for territory near Pondichery, as in the text. *Cons. Sup. à la Compagnie*, February 6, 1747. *P.R.*—*F.* 18. The letter in the text is interesting, for it shows that Dupleix did not wait for the Company's orders.

will be stopped and they expelled. Strict orders should be given to this effect or the merchants will be ruined and the Sarkar will lose much. Be pleased to enter the 21 mohurs to our account; we will pay your son.'

MAY 1747.

Monday, May 1.[1]—The news from Fort St. David is that when Mr. Stratton went away to Bengal, he left his dubâsh Guruvappan to the care of Madame Dupleix. She sent him as a confidential servant to Madame Morse at Fort St. David, with orders to send her all the news and along with Madame Morse to poison the Europeans there. He obeyed his orders and with Madame Morse's help poisoned the Company's servants and ships' captains, who fell sick and giddy. Then he wrote to Pondichery saying that Mr. Hinde was dead, that the present Governor,[2] the ships' captains and the rest were all sick and that if we wished to seize the fort, this was too good an opportunity to be missed. This letter was given to a Pariah fellow, who was living with a Pariah woman at Fort St. David. This woman knew what was going on, and when the man, having drunk much arrack, beat her, she went and revealed it to the peons. They seized the man at once and carried the letter to their Commander. He ordered Guruvappan and the Pariah to be ironed hand and foot and kept in prison. Madame Morse also has been confined and is not allowed to speak with any Europeans[3]. This business has thus been

[1] 22nd Chittirai, Prabhava.

[2] Charles Floyer; he arrived in India in 1730, aged 18.

[3] The story seems a good example of bazaar gossip.

planned, performed and betrayed by women. That is why it has failed and injured their good name. Had it been carried out by men, they would have taken care to keep it secret. We shall see what happens later.

Wednesday, May 3.[1]—According to the Honourable Governor's orders, to-day we sent a Brâhman and four peons to Tanjore to keep us informed of the news there. I also wrote to Rangô Pandit of Tanjore desiring him to collect what is owed me by Krimâsi Pandit and Raghunâtha Pandit, and, as we agreed some time ago, to send me the agreement about our opening a bazaar together, and to get a cowle and present from the Râjâ. The man who took this letter had been ordered to send me all the news.

The news from Conjeeveram is that Muhammad 'Alî Khân, Nawâb Anwar-ud-dîn Khân, Sampâti Râo and others are on their way to Trichinopoly.

Thursday, May 4.[2]—At six o'clock this evening I was sent for to the Governor's after he had come back from a drive. 'Jemadar Shaikh Hasan tells me,' he said, 'that the English have asked the Nawâb for 500 horse and 2,000 foot, and that he has promised to send them.' I replied that I did not know how the English could have asked the Nawâb for help or how he could have consented to give any; and the Governor told me to send and ask the Jemadar. I sent for him and he said he had been told by a Jemadar at Arcot to whom the

[1] 24th Chittirai, Prabhava. [2] 25th Chittirai, Prabhava.

English had written asking for 500 horse and 2,000 foot, and who had promised to send them. I then went in again to the Governor. 'Jemadar Shaikh Hasan,' I said, 'does not, as you thought, say that the English asked the Nawâb for help. They wrote to a Jemadar at Arcot who is said to have told Shaikh Hasan.'—'Then write to the Nawâb and find out all about it,' he replied. 'But what grounds have we for writing?' I asked; 'probably it is not true. They may say that the Jemadar was approached by the English and that he made promises, but most likely it is a story put about by soldiers, discontented because they are dismissed or unpaid, to frighten the Nawâb into thinking that they will take service elsewhere. That is all—it won't be true.'—'But how can we find out?' the Governor asked. I told him we could write to our vakîl Subbayyan at Arcot. He agreed and said I need not write to the Nawâb till we had heard from the vakîl. So we wrote to him to-day.

Friday, May 5.[1]—There is strange news to-night. Two Frenchmen and two Coffrees had got ready a large catamaran on the beach at Vîrâmpattanam,[2] with augers, a barrel of gunpowder and some match. They meant to approach the English ships off Fort St. David in the night, make holes in them, and blow them up with the gunpowder. They did get near the ships, but God designed otherwise, for the match went out. So they had to return.

[1] 26th Chittirai, Prabhava. [2] 3 miles south of Pondichery.

Tuesday, May 9.[1]—To-day the Governor received the presents sent from Wandiwash by Safdar 'Alî Khân's wife—a plume, a pendant and four other jewels. These were in return for those sent to her when her son was put to school. The messengers left the present outside the fort-gates and came and told me of their arrival. I went at once to the Governor, but, as he was asleep, I had to wait till ten, and then I told him the news. Monsieur Paradis, Monsieur Duquesne, Râjô Pandit and I went at half-past ten with horns, trumpets, drums, dancing girls, in short, with all magnificence, to meet them. Seven guns were fired when the present, in a palankin, reached the fort-gate, and fifteen were fired when it was presented to the Governor. We returned the plume and pendant to the messengers and they paid 1,500 rupees for them.[2]

News comes from Fort St. David of a rumour there that the English, without waiting for their reinforcements, have decided to collect their ships, and cannonade the town for five or six nights together. I told the Governor this this morning. 'Do you think they will do so?' he asked. 'They may,' I said; and he agreed that it might be true. About three he went to the Fort, where he ordered the roof of the powder godowns to be covered with planks and beams, and the pots and chattis[3] in the

[1] 30th Chittirai, Prabhava.

[2] Thus combining the dignity of a public, with the utility of a private, present—a custom by no means uncommon.

[3] For water in case of fire.

eastern part to be brought down. He went home about six after giving orders for the protection of the Fort. I hear he afterwards ordered the roof of these godowns to be repaired and covered with heaps of sand.

Wednesday, May 10.[1]—The news that Taqî Sâhib's son ('Alî Naqî Sâhib) has received from Arcot is that Nawâb Nâsîr Jang has sent 5,000 men into Cuddapah and Kandanûr to sequestrate those jaghirs. He himself has reached the Kumâra pass near Cuddapah on his way to Arcot. They have hoisted his flag at Arcot, and thirty horse have been sent to Anwar-ud-dîn to demand five lakhs of rupees. While these were halting at Chandâ Sâhib's house at Arcot, Najîb Khân, the commandant, told them that they need not go on but that he would send for the Nawâb. Accordingly a camel was despatched to the Nawâb at Vâlikondâpuram. Nâsîr Jang's chobdars have marked out sites for his camp near Vellore Fort and at Tirumalavâdi near Tanjore. 'Abd-ul-hai Khân, chobdar of Burhanpur, has been killed in a fight with the Marathas. Sâhu Râjâ of Satâra has asked Savai Bhâji Dâs to lend him 43 lakhs to pay a debt, but though the latter has refused, saying he has no money, they have come to terms, gone to Pandharpur[2] and summoned the chief, Malhari Râo Holkar, and others with their forces. They have sent an embassy to

[1] 31st Chittirai, Prabhava.

[2] A place of pilgrimage near Sholapur.

Fatteh Singh ; and Nizâm-ul-mulk has made peace with them. Mîr Ghulâm Husain has made peace with Mahfuz Khân, paying him four lakhs, and they have come to Madura from Tinnevelly.[1] Nizâm-ul-mulk is carrying the Nawâbs of Cuddapah and Kandanûr with him, and has placed a guard of a hundred horse over each, in order to get money from them.

Thursday, May 11.[2]—A signal has been appointed for the troops in case of an alarm from the sea. If it happens by day, the flag will be hoisted at the Fort and a gun fired ; but if at night, there will be two guns. As soon as the signal is heard, the Poligar's peons at the Bound-hedge must close their gates and allow neither men nor cattle to go out ; but they are to let in our people and drive in any cattle they may see outside. Malayappan's peons who are in the town are at once to assemble and a party of them is to go to each gate,[3] so that none may be unguarded. Once there, forty or fifty are to patrol between their gate and the next. They must not only prevent any from going out, but also permit none to approach the Bound-hedge from outside. Should any persist, they are to be shot—such are the orders.

Friday, May 12.[4]—This morning I was present at the wedding between Râmachandra Ayyan's son

[1] There seems to be some confusion here. At p. 71 *supra* Mahfuz Khân is spoken of as being with Nâsir Jang.

[2] 1st Vaigâsi, Prabhava.

[3] *i.e.*, of the Bound-hedge.

[4] 2nd Vaigâsi, Prabhava.

and the daughter of Vâsudêva Pandit's eldest son. I returned at eleven, and the Governor sent for me. He said that the customs people at Vellaiyânkuppam had robbed a European from Kârikâl of a pagoda and twenty-four Pondichery fanams, and asked in what taluk the village was. I told him, in the Tiruviti taluk; and he ordered me to write to the headman, Pîr Sâhib Muhammad Hafîz, and get the money back. A letter was therefore written and sent off.

The Governor also said to me, 'I hear that a Europe ship came into the Cuddalore road a week ago, having made her passage in three months and twenty days.[1] But as she left in December, she must have taken a month longer. An Englishman from Fort St. David, Mr. Savage,[2] has brought a Gazette received by it. I will tell you what is in it and what he has told me.'

This is what I noted down as he went on:—The ship left England more than four months ago. The Gazette contains news from April to October, but nothing about November, December or January. It says that the Kings of Portugal, Spain and

[1] The *Lapwing* arrived $\frac{\text{April 21}}{\text{May 2}}$. The Consultations state that she was three months and twenty days on her passage.

[2] See above p. 2. It is not apparent why he visited Pondichery in the present case. Perhaps, being a prisoner on parole, he was summoned thither by Dupleix. The conversation in which he accused La Bourdonnais of taking a bribe from the English is alleged to have taken place on August 21st this year,

Denmark have died.[1] The Dauphin had a son in July by the King of Spain's daughter whom he married in March 1745. The King of France, being only thirty-eight, was delighted to have a grandson while still so young, but the Princess, who has been the cause of so much hostility, died in delirium soon after the child was born. Peace is likely now to be made, as she was always causing disturbances by her words.[2]

I asked the Governor whether they were making peace; he said it was half-finished and was likely to be completed in about three months.[3] 'I think,' he went on, 'that the English have sent us part of the Gazette only, keeping back three months' news. I believe we shall hear of the treaty's being made by the ship we expect in July or August.'—'Once there has been talk of peace,' I said, 'no doubt it will soon be made.'—'Yes, that's true'; he answered; 'the day we landed at Madras last year, fifty English ships appeared off L'Orient, but, while we took Madras, they were defeated and had to sail back, unable to do anything.[4] Their company has suffered

[1] Philip V of Spain, and Christian VI of Denmark died in 1746; but John V of Portugal did not die till 1750.

[2] The Dauphin married Maria-Theresa-Antoinette on February 23, 1745. The child she bore in 1746 was a daughter, not a son. This marriage was the off-spring of the Family alliance and so a token of hostility to Great Britain.

[3] A conference was held at Breda in the winter of 1746–47, but broke up without coming to terms.

[4] Lestock appeared with nine ships of the line and numerous transports off L'Orient on September 30, 1746, and landed 7,400 men on October 1. It is said, the town was about to surrender when the English sailed away, flying, as a French writer says, from a capitulation.

heavy losses, and under any circumstances I think peace is certain to be made.'

Tuesday, May 23.[1]—Two or three days ago, the Governor told me to get a letter addressed to Kârikâl seized by the men at the land custom-house at Fort St. David. I got a torn bag, put into it ten or fifteen bad arecanuts and some broken pieces, four or five old betel-leaves and bits of tobacco, three or four cash and a flint, along with the letter. I gave the bag to a peon of Malayappan's and told him to leave it so that it might be mistaken for one dropped by a passing Chetti. It was dropped therefore not far from Rangappa Nâyakkan's[2] palankin-boys, and the peon went on a little way as if he had nothing to do with it. The palankin-boys found it, and gave it to their master, who read it and carried it at once to the English Governor. This I heard this evening, and came home after telling the Honourable Governor.

The news from Fort St. David is that Madame Morse is so friendly with Mr. Griffin that she has not gone back to her husband at Tranquebar but is staying at Fort St. David. As she corresponds with Madame Dupleix, Mr. Griffin is doing so too, and not less than two or three letters pass every day

[1] 18th Vaigâsi, Prabhava.

[2] Ôrkandi Rangappa was the principal dubâsh at Fort St. David. He was appointed Company's dubâsh in 1749, and allowed to have a roundel and torch-boys. *Fort St. David Consultations, August 7, 1749.*

between here and Fort St. David.[1] They have proclaimed by beat of tom-tom that every house in Devanâmpattanam is to be destroyed, and this is actually being done.[2] Permission to pull down the Dutch factory has been asked at Negapatam, and the Dutch there have consented if another factory is given them in Cuddalore.[3] Accordingly the Dutch are carrying their furniture and goods thither. Mr. Croke's[4] house, the hospital, the European Church,[5] Mr. Floyer's house, and others have all been pulled down. Every thing is being destroyed except the Fort. Besides this, a Portuguese ship has arrived from Achin and Malacca,[6] and is not being allowed to touch at Pondichery. Ten days ago two English ships with 2,400 bales or so sailed for Bencoolen whence they will proceed to Europe.[7] The people of Devanâmpattanam are complaining bitterly and long to be captured by the French who would at all events spare their houses.

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[1] Either Ranga Pillai is putting Madame Morse and Commodore Griffin for their servants who may have been corresponding with Madame Dupleix, or else the correspondence related to the exchange of prisoners. See above p. 56.

[2] Devanâmpattanam was the village to the north of the Fort. In the course of May a general demolition took place of all buildings (save the Dutch factory) within range of the Fort.

[3] The Dutch did not consent. See p. 69 *supra*.

[4] Edward Croke was at this time Second of Council. He declined the Governorship on the score of age and ill-health. He had arrived in India in 1708.

[5] A Roman Catholic Church 500 yards from the Fort. *Fort St. David Consultations, April 25, 1747.*

[6] *The Nossa Senhora d'Esperança e Santa Caterina*, a Macao ship.

[7] The *Britannia* and the *Lapwing* were laded with all the Company's bales (about 1,800) for Europe *viâ* Bencoolen.

Some French ships have attacked the Bombay ships that are bringing reinforcements—at least such is the news at Fort St. David from Anjengo and Tellicherry.

Monday, May 29.[1]—Having to-day to perform my deceased father's ceremony, I sent for the Brâhmans, and, finishing by seven, I went to the Governor's at eight, having been summoned by one of his peons. He told me that when Monsieur d'Espréménil left Madras for Bengal,[2] the Poligar of Dugarazpattanam waylaid him and his people, and robbed them of 2,000 or 3,000 pagodas besides other things, of which he had received a list. After this, the faujdar of Nellore kept him for two days, and only let him go after having seized 120 rupees of his and ill-treated him. The Governor ordered me to write of this with threats and promises to Nawâb Anwar-ud-dîn Khân, to his son Mahfuz Khân, to Muhammad Tavakkal and Husain Sâhib, and also to our vakîl, that they should do their best to get the money back. Accordingly Persian letters are being written and will be despatched to-morrow.

To the west of Tirupporûr near Madras there is a poligar village called Attipâkkam. There live

[1] 19th Vaigâsi, Prabhava.

[2] He left Madras on May 6, suddenly, to the surprise of the Pondichery Council; and made his way to Bengal, not reaching Balasore till August. *Cons. Sup. à la Compagnie* October 11, 1747. (*P.R.*—No. 7). Also Saunders to Floyer, etc., August 22, 1747, and Foster, etc., to the same, August 17, 1747, in *Letters to Fort St. David* of that year.

Malrâjâ's[1] brothers-in-law, Vîramarâjâ and Kalyâ-narâjâ. By his directions, these have once or twice tried to seize chests of silver on the way from Madras. But they could not raise more than a hundred peons while the French had a hundred Mahé sepoys and military; and so the peons could do nothing. Then Kalyânarâjâ joined Malrâjâ at Fort St. David, and now, by order of Mr. Floyer the Governor, has been sent with three hundred peons to Attipâkkam to lie in wait for Muttayya Pillai who is expected to attend the approaching marriage in our house.[2] I heard this from the spies who bring news from Fort St. David. While we were wondering whether this news were true or not, Tiruvottasâma Pillai, Muttayya Pillai's writer, came and told me of a letter which he had received from Valudâvûr Râmabhadra Reddi. He wrote, 'Malrâjâ's brother-in-law has gone towards Madras with three hundred musketeers to seize Muttayya Pillai on his way from Madras to attend the marriage in Pondichery. I write this that you may know of the secret news I have heard; and you should convey this to Pillai Avargal,[3] so that he may write to Madras and save Muttayya Pillai.' I heard this yesterday evening, and both Sêshâdri Pillai and I wrote to Muttayya Pillai telling him of this news,

[1] He served the English well enough to be appointed 'poligar' of Madras when the place was restored; but only held the post a short time.

[2] The marriage of Pâpâl, Ranga Pillai's daughter.

[3] *i.e.*, Ranga Pillai.

saying that the marriage might not be performed after all, and asking what had best be done as matters were in this state. As soon as I had sent a runner off with the letters, I went to tell the Governor. He at once asked what news there was from Fort St. David. I told him that the guns we heard two or three days ago were on account of a ship's sailing for Bencoolen with a thousand and odd bales and the French prisoners,[1] and that Perceval [2] has gone to Bencoolen on her. All the other bales (I told him) have also been sent off; Pandâra Mudali, Irusappa Chetti and Nârâyana Chetti have contracted to supply 3,000 bales; as none are in stock, Pandâra Mudali is to supply two-thirds and has been advanced 30,000 pagodas—rupees for 5,000 and the balance in star pagodas; the others have been advanced 5,000 pagodas each; and so they have chosen an auspicious time and made advances to the weavers. Mr. Melon's [3] ship is going to Bengal and everybody is going on her. All the Devanâmpattanam houses have been pulled down, and even the Dutch factory is being destroyed with the permission of the Dutch at Negapatam in return for 14,000 pagodas or so and a piece of land for a new

[1] The prisoners taken on the *Rotterdam*. See above p. 56.

[2] Possibly William Perceval. Appointed Chief Gunner at Madras in 1738 after residing there for some years; in 1743 he was appointed a factor in the Company's service.

[3] A Mr. Melon owned a house to the northward of the White Town at Madras; it was confiscated in 1749 along with others belonging to those who had lived under French protection. Love's *Vestiges*, ii. 402.

factory. Floyer's house, the Second's house,[1] the hospital, the Christian Church and other buildings have also been destroyed. The Governor asked if any buildings were left this side besides the Fort, and I said 'No.' I then mentioned Kalyânarâjâ's departure with three hundred of Malrâjâ's men to seize Muttayya Pillai on his way here from Madras to attend the marriage. He told me to write to Nawâb Anwar-ud-dîn Khân, Mahfuz Khân, Husain Sâhib and Muhammad Tavakkal; he even mentioned it in his letter to M. Dulaurens,[2] and observed, 'This will prevent Muttayya's coming here.'—'Yes,' I said, 'it will.' Afterwards I heard from Sadras that Mr. Eckman,[3] Captain of the English soldiers at Madras, had been seized on Friday night at a house near the Dutch factory at Sadras by some French who came in two masula-boats. As I was sure the Governor must know all about this, I simply told him that our people had captured Mr. Eckman. 'Madame Eckman has already written to say so to my wife,' he answered; 'how did it happen?'—'At ten o'clock last Friday night,' I said, 'some soldiers landed at Sadras from two masula-boats. Seven or eight soldiers with an officer and a Tamil went and knocked at the door of Mr. Eckman's house next the factory.

[1] Edward Croke's.

[2] Dulaurens was an employé of long standing, a Councillor, and succeeded d'Esprémćnil as chief at Madras. *Cons. Sup. à la Compagnie*, October 11, 1747, (*P.R*—No. 7).

[3] 'The ignorant superannuated Swede' of the *East Indian Chronologist*. He arrived in Madras in 1706, and is stated to have served previously in Flanders. Love's *Vestiges*, ii. 351, 358, and 436 *n.* 3.

He was asleep, but a doctor, who was there attending his wife who is sick, went and asked who was knocking. The Tamil said that he had brought a letter from Pulicat and must go on at once to Cuddalore. As soon as the door was opened, the officer and soldiers rushed in, terrifying the people inside so that they began to scream. Mr. Eckman then awoke and, coming out, asked what was the matter. The soldiers at once tied his hands behind him and carried him off to the masula-boats. There were a hundred or a hundred and fifty peons assembled in the Dutch factory, but though they were prayed to open the gates they would not do so till sunrise. A letter has been written to Negapatam about this, saying that the French succeeded because their spies are constantly sending news to Madras and Pondichery about what goes on at Sadras.'—'The ship which passed here on Friday night,' the Governor answered, 'was going towards Sadras and belonged to the English. She must have put in there and carried Mr. Eckman off; and the English who seized him are accusing us of having done so.'—'But,' asked I, 'why should the English have seized him?' —'The people at Fort St. David,' he said, 'have hated Mr. Morse and Mr. Eckman ever since Madras was taken by us, as if it had been their fault.[1] I

[1] I can neither confirm nor deny this story. Colonel Love has printed the letter in which Eckman defends his conduct. *Vestiges*, ii, 355. When the Company granted him a pension, the Fort St. David Council declared that he was undeserving of it. *Fort St. David Despatch to the Company*, November, 2, 1749,

wonder what they have done with him. We must write to Sadras and explain that it is not our doing, since the Sadras people are putting the blame on us.' So he sent for Mathieu and had a letter sent to Capitan Mijnheer Stapid.[1]

Tuesday, May 30.[2]—I went and told the Governor that Nawâb Anwar-ud-dîn Khân with Mahfuz Khân, Sampâti Râo, Munawar-ud-dîn Khân and others had left Trichinopoly, and passing by Udaiyârpâlaiyam, Tiruviti, Panruti, and Villupuram, had halted for a day at Gingee before going on. 'When will Anwar-ud-dîn Khân reach Arcot?' he asked. I said, 'He ought to have arrived yesterday.'

The Governor told me to write to Mudâmiah at Chidambaram to send fifteen or twenty peons with M. de la Haye[3] when he comes up here. Ten peons are also to be posted at Villiyanallûr on the Chidambaram road to inform M. de la Haye whether they have heard of any English being about or not. Ten peons are also to be sent with the same orders to the halting-points on the way to Chidambaram. I sent Mudâmiah's letter by some of Malayappan's men, after giving them batta. That is all the news.

[1] Stapid is evidently a corruption. By the courtesy of Dr. F. deHaan, the archivist at Batavia, I am informed that the chief of Sadras was Johannes Spits, *ondercoopman*.

[2] 20th Vaigâsi, Prabhava.

[3] Possibly the second surgeon at Pondichery who had successfully operated on Dupleix for fistula. Cultru, p. 44.

JUNE 1747.

Friday, June 2.[1]—M. Le Marié, who accompanied M. d'Espréménil to Masulipatam, was robbed by the poligar of Sikkirikôttai[2] and other petty chiefs of a valuable musket inlaid with silver, a silver clock, and a large number of pagodas. He also writes, 'Jewels worth [ ] pagodas were forced from me by the poligar of Dugarazpattanam and the faujdar of Nellore. The former kept me a prisoner at his house for forty-eight hours; and a peon who was guarding me stole a pistol and 7 pagodas as I lay asleep upon the ground—I was refused a bed. A blood-sucker was put into my breeches; I was beaten and cruelly ill-treated. Afterwards I was sent to the faujdar of Nellore, who kept me for thirty-six hours and then gave me over to another poligar; and here also I was much ill-used. At Nellore they took from me two ruby rings, a very fine silver snuff-box, a gold cravat-pin, another cravat-pin made of the five metals, a pair of gold sleeve-buttons, a pair of silver shoe-buckles, a pair of garters, four agate boxes, eight agate buttons, four Coffrees' silver ear-rings, necklaces and other silver jewels, a silver-handled knife, and a pistol.'

[1] 23rd Vaigâsi, Prabhava.
[2] Possibly Srîharikôttai in the Nellore District.

This list was in French, dated May 19, 1747, and signed 'Le Marié.'

Monday, June 5.[1]—The peons at the Bound-hedge have been ordered to close all the entrances if in the day-time they hear a gun and see the flag at the Fort, and to assemble at the Fort if they hear two guns. This afternoon about three o'clock some shells exploded, and this sounded like guns. The peons at once closed the entrances to the Bound-hedge and assembled at the Fort. But then, seeing no flag, they learnt they were mistaken and opened the gates again; but a good deal of confusion was thus caused.

Tuesday, June 6.[2]—When I was at the Governor's this morning, Chinna Mudali came and complained. 'My brother's accounts,' he said, 'show that Gavinivâsa Mudali owed him 91 pagodas. When I ask him to pay, he says that he frequently brought presents from Achin and Manilla for my brother, and on that account would take a few rupees now and then; and he refuses to pay unless I give him back the presents. Besides this, Malayappan owes 50 pagodas. He also refuses to pay when asked, saying that 30 pagodas of his were deposited with me by Kanakarâya Mudali's widow, that he will only pay the balance and cannot do that at present. Please order him to pay me the money.' The

[1] 26th Vaigâsi, Prabhava. [2] 27th Vaigâsi, Prabhava.

Governor has been much enriched by business with this man and is well-disposed towards him[1]; so he sent for me and said, 'You must inquire into this matter and ask the Mudali and Malayappan to pay their debts to Chinna Mudali. If they refuse, you may imprison them till they agree.'

I also told the Governor what I had heard from Cuddalore about the destruction of houses—that the north wall and the four streets near it at Cuddalore had been measured for destruction, and that they had already set about it.[2] 'But why should they pull down Cuddalore as well as the houses at Devanâmpattanam?' he asked.—'I don't know why,' I said; 'but perhaps they have heard that we expect a large number of ships, and that is why they are pulling down Cuddalore as well.'—'You must be right,' he replied, 'since they have so soon begun to destroy Cuddalore. Find out about it and let me know.'

Saturday, June 10.[3]—When I was talking with the Governor to-day, he asked what the news was from Fort St. David. 'Five ships have arrived from Bombay,[4]' I said; 'a French bombardier, who used to send us information, has been found out

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[1] Cf. i. 346 and ii. 14 *supra.*

[2] This seems invention.

[3] 31st Vaigâsi, Prabhava.

[4] Not five but four ships—the *Warwick*, the *Severn*, the *Ilchester* and the *Bombay Castle.* They brought 70 Europeans, 200 Topasses, and 100 Sepoys. *Fort St. David Consultations*, May 28 and 30, 1747.

and hanged at the yardarm; and Mr. Croke's wife and children have sailed[1] on the Surat ship *Fatteh Sawâr* for Bengal.'

Sunday, June 11.[2]—We heard to-day from Subbayyan at Arcot. He says that sometime ago, when Mr. Hinde, lately deceased, was Governor of Fort St. David, the English wrote to Nâsîr Jang, saying, 'The French at Pondichery came and seized Madras. There were many of the Moghul's sowcars there and they were all ill-used. Then Mahfuz Khân attacked them with his forces but was defeated, and the French attacked the Moghul territories, burnt the jaghir villages and laid them waste, Anwar-ud-dîn Khân permitting it.[3] They are still looting and ruining the people and the sowcars, but Anwar-ud-dîn makes no effort to oppose them with his forces. In spite of his promise to us the Nawâb could not defend himself, and so was secretly bribed to make peace and went home. Unless you write and order the French to restore Madras, they will attack Fort St. David too; so orders should be sent to the French.' This letter was sent by Mr. Hinde with a present of cloth by some of his own people and some Company's peons. Nâsîr Jang has accepted

[1] Apparently incorrect. Croke's family is said to have been on the point of going to Bengal in September of this year. *Fort St. David Consultations*, September 14, 1747.

[2] 1st Âni, Prabhava.

[3] Cf. Nazelle p. 84 and p. 18 *supra*.

the present and sent two persons[1] [ ] and four dalayets with a dress of honour. These men are to send him the news of the place and say that he will soon be marching that way. They have now reached Arcot and are proceeding to Fort St. David.

I told this to the Governor, and he ordered me to write to vakîl Subbayyan to tell the Nawâb that the English were trying to turn him out of his place. 'He must tell the Nawâb this in confidence,' the Governor said; 'but put it how you like.'

Tuesday, June 13.[2]—Avây Sâhib, Imâm Sâhib's envoy, yesterday reached my garden-house and sent me word of his arrival. I told the Governor and then went to see him. He said he had brought gifts from both Nâsîr Jang and Imâm Sâhib. I then went back and told the Governor. He ordered me to arrange to bring the presents in at day-break to-morrow. I went at once to my nut-godown, and arranged for elephants, horses and kettle-drums to be made ready. Then at nine o'clock I came home.

Wednesday, June 14.[3]—On my going to the Governor's this morning he asked if all was ready for the reception of the presents. I said 'Yes,' and he went in his coach and six to the tent pitched outside the West Gate. Thence he sent two

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[1] Fazl-ul-lah Bêg and Hâji Muhammad 'Alî, described as merchants. They reached Fort St. David in June and demanded 1,000 pagodas for presenting Hinde's and Griffin's letters to Nâsîr Jang. *Fort St. David Consultations*, August 31, 1747.

[2] 3rd Âni, Prabhava.

[3] 4th Âni, Prabhava.

members of Council to my garden-house to fetch the presents in a coach. On their arrival the Governor advanced ten paces to meet them and having received the presents sat down again. They consisted of a *sarpech*[1] set with an emerald in the middle; a plume set with a diamond between two rubies; and a pendant of three pearls—these and four more were sent by Nâsîr Jang. Imâm Sâhib sent a horse and four jewels. The Governor put on the turban sent by Nâsîr Jang, fixed the plume into it and then put on the *sarpech*. He looked magnificent and his face shone. Immediately after, he got up and entered his coach. As he passed the gate fifteen guns were fired from the walls, and the soldiers formed a lane from the gate up to the grass market. First went a white banner, then men carrying tufts of peacock feathers, then horses with kettle-drums and elephants with flags.[2] Then came the troop of horse, and last of all the Mahé sepoys

[1] 'Un sirpèche ou diadême...c'est une pièce d'orfèverie d'or en carré long de deux pouces, dont le tour est orné de perles; au milieu c'est un fort gros diamant jaune et audessous pend une perle fine en poire... Ce diadême se porte sur le front et s' attache par derrière la tête' Guyon, *Histoire des Indes Orientales*, 1744, iii. 348-349. The particular *sirpèche* that Guyon describes is that presented by Safdar Âlî to Dumas.

[2] These were the outward marks of dignity which were carried before a nawâb. It has been questioned whether Dupleix actually did assume the nawâbship that had been granted to Dumas. (Cultru, p. 182-183.) It is however plainly stated that Dupleix assumed the nawâbship in Bengal in the letter *Cons. Sup. à la Compagnie*, January 24, 1742, (*P.R.—No. 6*). The date of the letter, combined with the fact that Dupleix reached Pondichery as Governor on January 13, disproves the statement of Malleson (and Guyon) that he went specially to Bengal for the purpose.

and horsemen. Besides there were dancing-girls and various instruments, drums and so forth. This procession left the tent with great pomp and splendour at half-past seven. It went as far as the painters' bazaar, then turning south went down Muttayya Pillai's Street, passed the Vêdapuri Îswaran Temple, skirted the south rampart and reached the East Gate. Then twenty-one guns were fired. At last it reached the south entrance to the Governor's house [1] and he went in and sat down, on which there was another salute of twenty-one guns. In the course of the procession bundles of crackers were fired seven or eight times. It was a grand sight. At last all took leave of the Governor and went home.

To-day I gave him a paper showing the stages from Chidambaram to Gingee. Chidambaram to Kânûr is 10 miles; Kânûr to Tirumuttam is 10 miles; Tirumuttam to Gôpuram is about 13 miles; Gôpuram to Ulundûr is about 13 miles; Ulundûr to Tiruvennanallûr is 10 miles; Tiruvennanallûr to Panamûlai is 10 miles; Panamûlai to Gingee is 10 miles; in all,[2] from Chidambaram to Gingee is about 80 miles.

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[1] I suppose this to be the house bought from Febvrier and used as the 'gouvernement' *Cons. Sup. à la Compagnie*, December 31, 1741, (*P.R.—No. 6*). The south entrance faced the Fort.

[2] The names of several of these places seem to be corrupt. Kânûr is due west of Chidambaram; Tirumuttam may be the same as Srîmushnam, due west of Kânûr; Gôpuram is doubtless Gôpurâpuram in the Vriddhachalam Taluk, north of Srîmushnam; Ulundûr and Tiruvennanallûr lie to the northward of Gôpurâpuram; and Panamûlai is probably Panamalai in the Villupuram Taluk. Ranga Pillai's distances are only approximate,

Friday, June 16 [1].—Letters came from Mahé this evening to say that M. Dordelin's squadron had reached Goa and that he had died there.[2] I do not yet know what other news there is, but if I learn more I will note it down.

The younger Sînappayyan writes to me, 'Monsieur de Leyrit who has been chief here and has started for Pondichery wants you to undertake his business. He thinks that even if he goes to Bengal, he can send a good deal from there, and carry on a considerable trade. It would be well to make a friend of him.' M. de Leyrit is at Kârikâl, for, though he is to go as chief to Bengal, he is waiting for fear of being seized by the English on the way[3].

This afternoon Singâram, the head-runner, brought the Governor a letter from Nâsîr Jang. It said that any secret things could be spoken of with Singâram, and that the Sarkar would do what the French wished, but at present matters were very difficult. The Governor said angrily that Muhammadans always prefer money to friendship, but nevertheless he ordered me to send an answer by

[1] 6th Âni, Prabhava.

[2] Dordelin died at Goa, May 11, N.S. *Cons. Sup. à la Compagnie*, October 11, 1747. (*P.R.*—*No.* 7.)

[3] Duval de Leyrit, son of the director d'Esprémésnil, came out with rank as Councillor. After serving some years at Mahé, he was appointed Directeur in Bengal, where the administration of Burat had been very inefficient. He sailed from Mahé on a Macao ship and reached Negapatam whence he went to Kârikâl.

Singâram detailing the various misdeeds of the English.

Saturday, June 17.[1]—To-day a letter came from Nawâb Anwar-ud-dîn Khân. It said, 'I have ordered 'Abd-ul-wahâb Khân,[2] Faujdar of Nellore, to restore the hundred and twenty rupees with the other property taken from M. d'Esprémênil and his people and to get a receipt which is to be sent to me. I have also written to the Governor of Fort St. David, saying that Malrâjâ's people are seizing Frenchmen and their letters, and that unless he behaves so that no such complaints are made in future, I shall order my jemadars to seize all who come outside the Bound-hedge. The mangoes you sent me were delicious and their sweetness still lingers on my tongue. Take care of the tree they came from.' I brought this to the Governor and also gave him the letters that accompanied it to 'Abd-ul-wahâb and to Fort St. David. He kept the former, but told me to give the latter to Singâram to be delivered as if it had gone direct. I said I would send it to-morrow, and shall accordingly do so.

Sunday, June 18.[3]—The Governor told me that a peon brought him news this morning that M. Le

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[1] 7th Âni, Prabhava.

[2] Son of Anwar-ud-dîn Khân, commonly called 'Abdul Bob Cawn' in contemporary English records.

[3] 8th Âni, Prabhava.

Riche,[1] M. de Leyrit and M. Law[2] in palankins with three Company's peons had reached Pûngunam and would arrive here this afternoon. He asked where Pûngunam was and I told him this side of Tiruviti. He then said, 'Five or six days ago you told me that the English had heard that Frenchmen were coming from Kârikâl and had sent four or five hundred men to waylay them. But the padre who came from Porto Novo the day before yesterday came by Venkatammâlpêttai, Tiruviti and Panruti, and he tells me he saw nobody. He would tell the truth.'—'Are our people coming that way?' I asked, and observed that I could only report what was written and said by our peons and others who brought in news

1 Jean Baptiste Le Riche was sent out in 1740. At this time he was second at Kârikâl. He was apparently coming to Pondichery to marry Pétronille, daughter of Alexandre Legou. The marriage was solemnised on August 2, 1747. I am indebted to M.R.Ry. Singâravêlu Pillai for kindly tracing the *acte de mariage.*

2 There were two brothers of this name in the French Company's service. They were sons of William Law, brother of the famous financier. The elder, Jean, was born in 1719; he was appointed in 1741 to the Company's civil service, and from 1744 onwards till the final defeat of the French, served the Company in Bengal. In 1755 he married Jeanne Carvalho, by whom he had numerous children. The younger brother, Jacques, was born in 1724, and came out in the Company's military service. He was a lieutenant in 1746 and was promoted captain in 1750, in which year he lost an eye in the fighting before Tanjore. In 1751 he married Marie Carvalho, daughter of Francisco, a prominent inhabitant of Madras. She was one of those numerous ladies reported to be 'the most beautiful woman in India,' and probably a cousin of the Jeanne Carvalho whom Jean Law married. In 1752 Jacques Law was the hero of the great surrender at Srîrangam. I am informed that there are still descendants of his at Pondichery. As Jean Law was at this time in Bengal, Ranga Pillai must here be alluding to Jacques. See M. Martineau's Introduction to Law's *Mémoire sur quelques affaires de l'Empire Mogol* (*Soc. de l'Hist. des Col. Fran.* 1913.)

and the people who had come from Chennamanâyakkanpâlaiyam.[1] 'Why,' he asked, 'should they [not ?] come this way instead of going farther to the west ?' —'There is a risk,' I replied, 'until they actually arrive.'—'What!' he said, 'you want your false reports to be vindicated!'—'Sir,' I answered, 'false or not these gentlemen cannot be safe till they have really arrived.'—He agreed that it was true, but, repeating what he had said before, told me to go home.

When I was going home to eat, a cooly all smeared with saffron came and told me that the Cuddalore people had caught M. de Leyrit and M. Le Riche, and another European who had come with them from Tranquebar but whose name he did not know.[2] When I had eaten, I went to the Governor's. 'Yesterday morning,' I said, 'the Europeans left Chidambaram. Before starting, they were disguised by Mudâmiah in gowns and turbans, and placed in close palankins. He gave out that they were women proceeding to Arcot and sent fifty peons with them. In spite of all these precautions however the English knew everything, for they had spies at Kârikâl, and sent fifty horse and four hundred peons to catch the Frenchmen. The ten peons, whom we sent to meet and warn M. de Leyrit and the rest, did as they were told; the letter reached

1 An important weaving centre, whence both French and English drew considerable supplies of cloth.

2 Law was sent to meet de Leyrit at Negapatam and accompanied him to Kârikâl *viâ* Tranquebar.

Chidambaram; the peons gave their warning; but the ill-fate of the Frenchmen forbade their listening; they started and reached the fort of Pûngunam near Tiruviti about an hour before sunset, accompanied by Mudâmiah's people. They started again about five hours after sunset, as soon as the moon had gone down; and they had gone about three miles when they were surrounded by the English and Malrâjâ's men, who fired sixty or seventy shots at random. The palankin-boys and coolies threw everything down and fled, and Mudâmiah's people had run away even before. Law jumped out of his palankin and ran off; M. de Leyrit also got away; but M. Le Riche was seized in his palankin and roughly handled. The two others had got clear, but M. de Leyrit mistook east for west and went on with two or three of the coolies. At sun-rise next morning he found himself at the river at Tiruvêndipuram, was seized along with his companions by English peons from Fort St. David, and, after a scuffle, was carried into Cuddalore. M. Law however has managed somehow to escape.' The Governor asked if all this was true; I told him it was. While we were still speaking, there arrived the three Company's peons from Kârikâl, who had also escaped. They told me just the same story, and I reported this to the Governor. He said, 'If we arrest Muhammad Kamâl[1] (who has just come), Nawâb

[1] The Governor of Puneri. *Country Correspondence*, 1748, p. 82. See below, under date December 7, 1747.

Anwar-ud-dîn will do his best to get our two men released.'—'That would look ill,' I answered; 'the Moghuls are in favour with him, and though it might be fair to do so, the Nawâb will think otherwise, for we are friends. Did he not write to 'Abd-ul-wahâb the very moment that he heard from us about the things stolen from M. d'Espréménil? And has he not written to Fort St. David about Malrâjâ? Since we are on such good terms, will it be wise to do as you propose?'—'Anyhow,' he said, 'get a letter from Muhammad Kamâl to the Nawâb; and we will wait a few days till we can find a remedy which will cause no harsh words.' If I had gainsaid him, he might have got angry, so I agreed. He ordered letters to be written and sent at once to his Highness the Nawâb, Muhammad Tavakkal, and vakîl Subbayyan, to get the Frenchmen released. I suggested that it would be best to send M. Delarche with the letters. He agreed, saying, 'We shall write that it is a disgrace to the Nawâb for Frenchmen to be seized in his territory and that he should procure their release, and we shall use other arguments too in support of our case, but no doubt M. Delarche had better go, so that he can answer at once any questions that may occur to them.' I then sent for Madanânda Pandit and told him what should be written to the Nawâb—that these people were seized in the Tiruviti country, what special points should be inquired into, that the English were always causing disturbances, that unless he chastised the English and made them

give up their prisoners, his good name would suffer and perhaps Nâsîr Jang would think him useless and punish him,—along with other reasons. Letters were also written to Muhammad Tavakkal and vakîl Subbayyan telling them to explain matters properly to the Nawâb and see that what we asked was done. In the Nawâb's letter I said that it was carried by M. Delarche who would answer all questions; in vakîl Subbayyan's I told him to give M. Delarche what money he needed and send me his receipts. Meanwhile M. Delarche, who had been sent for, came in. The Governor explained to him what was to be done, and told him to start as soon as possible, telling me to get him eighteen palankin-boys and a head-peon with twenty others. I at once ordered the head-boy and the head-peon to see that all were ready. The Governor also told me to write to my gumasta at Arcot to supply M. Delarche with whatever he might need. I made the letters ready, including Muhammad Kamâl's to the Nawâb and Najîb Khân[1] and gave them to M. Delarche. He took leave of the Governor and at nine o'clock after supper set out for Arcot.

I also wrote to Mudâmiah at Chidambaram, saying, 'Though we wrote plainly that our people should keep to the west by Kânûr, Tirumuttam, Gôpurâpuram, Ulundûrpêttai, Tiruvennanallûr, Panamûlai and Gingee, and though they would have gone that way,

[1] Najîb-ul-lah Khân, son of Anwar-ud-dîn Khân.

you advised them otherwise, sent seventy of your people with them, and told them there was no risk. So they have undergone this misfortune. You must therefore write to Arcot and Fort St. David, saying what you think fit, and do your best to find a way of procuring their release.' I wrote this letter to Mudâmiah, as the Governor ordered and sent it off.

Ten persons who were travelling from Kârikâl to Cuddalore confirm what I have said above.

Monday, June 19.[1]—This morning M. Law reached the bounds in a dhooli.

I sent for the jewels that Perumâl Ayyan has made me, and for my horses.

M. Law reached the Valudâvûr Gate at eleven, took and put on the clothes of the sentry there, and thus visited the Governor at noon. When M. Law had told his story, the Governor turned to me and said, 'Besides our letter, M. Paradis warned them that the English were in force along the road; and in spite of our orders to go to the west, they came straight on like fools. M. Le Riche tried to beat the spy who warned him, and called him a liar. What can we say of his good sense?' The Governor went on talking like this for twenty minutes and I made suitable answers. At last he went in to dinner, and as the Company's merchants were giving a feast in honour of the marriage at my house, I came home at once.

[1] 9th Âni, Prabhava.

Thursday, June 22.[1]—To-day we sent Nâsîr Jang a letter of compliment by Singâram, to whom we gave a bale of broad-cloth, second sort. In the letter we mentioned the capture of M. Le Riche and M. de Leyrit in the Moghul's country and asked Nâsîr Jang to order the English to let them go. Singâram was asked not to delay, and I gave him 25 rupees for his travelling charges. He left the bale in my godown and asked to receive one instead from my bazaar at Arcot. So I gave him a note to Subbayyan telling him to give the bearer a bale of French broad-cloth instead of the English one that had been given.

The Governor this morning asked why I had not told him about the sloop and another English boat that are lading shells.[2] I told him that the Mascareigne sloop that was captured at Merkânam along with another boat was taking in shells at Merkânam, and that an Englishman had come to overlook the work and was ashore. 'I have already told you,' I added; 'you must have forgotten.' The Governor told me to find out if the boats were still there, and I at once sent a letter by runner to Srînivâsa Pandit of Âlambarai asking him to give me all the news. The Governor will try to seize the boats when we hear.

[1] 12th Âni, Prabhava.

[2] The only source of lime for mortar. The beach near Âlambarai offered the most plentiful supply on the Coromandel Coast.

Friday, June 23.[1]—I went to a feast given by the people of the out-villages in honour of the marriage, and then went to my cloth godown. Just as I had finished my sleep, the Governor's peon came for me. I went at once. He asked me if I had yet heard from Âlambarai. I said I was expecting an answer hourly. We then spoke of the grain trade at Cuddalore. Tanuka Chetti and Nallâ Chetti, Mailappa Chetti's sons, natives of this town and formerly Company's merchants, are now living at Devanâmpattanam, and accuse every one who goes thither to buy goods of being a spy. If they are given two or three rupees, they let them go; but otherwise they carry them to Rangappa Nâyakkan and with their false charges get them put in prison, beaten and ill-treated. I told the Governor all this, and also what had happened since the Bombay ships arrived.

As it was the eve of the feast of St. John, the Governor was going down to the soldiers drawn up south of the Fort at the bonfire built there.[2] But meanwhile a letter came from Âlambarai saying that the boats were laden, and would leave the day after to-morrow; that on the Mascareigne ship there were eight Englishmen, twenty lascars and twelve

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[1] 13th Âni, Prabhava.

[2] The custom of lighting bonfires at this festival seems to have been wide-spread and ancient. See, for instance, Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, *s.v.* Summer Solstice. Ranga Pillai has already referred to it. See Vol. II, p. 87.

guns with powder and shot; and that one Englishman had gone ashore. I told this to the Governor at once. He called M. Auger,[1] and ordered soldiers with ammunition to be sent in masula-boats to seize the sloop. Then he went on to the place where the bonfire was. After all the ceremonies had been performed, he and the priest lit it. Three guns were fired, and there was afterwards a salute of twenty-one guns from the fort. When all was over all the Europeans there thrice shouted, *Vive le roi*. The Governor then went with the troops up to the fort and there the men were dismissed. He went home and at half-past seven was told that the masula-boats were ready. He ordered them to set out at once, and sending for me told me to arrange to intercept any letters going from Âlambarai to Fort St. David. At half-past eight therefore I sent thirty men out by the Valudâvûr Gate which was specially opened, and then went home like the other people who had attended the procession. At mid-night three hundred sepoys were sent out towards Âlambarai.

Sunday, June 25.[2]—One of our people came in to-day and told the Governor that the sixty men and the officer who had been sent to Âlambarai to seize the sloop had withdrawn on learning that she had guns mounted. My spies had already brought

[1] The Master Attendant. *Naselle*, p. 175.

[2] 15th Âni, Prabhava. Ranga Pillai dates this the 22nd, apparently in error.

me the same news. The horse sent out by road also came back, and I heard the sepoys had reached my choultry.

A letter from M. Delarche for the Governor arrived along with letters from Muhammad Tavakkal and vakîl Subbayyan for me. The last-named said, 'I have seen Nawâb Anwar-ud-dîn Khân and Husain Sâhib. When I told them that some gentlemen had been seized by the English at Tiruviti on their way from Kârikâl, an order was sent to the Governor of Fort St. David to release them. A copy of the order in Persian is sent for you to see.' It was also written that some velvet and a roll of silk should be sent to decorate Gulâb Singh's palankin. After reading this, I sent off five yards of red velvet and a roll of silk with replies to Muhammad Tavakkal, Husain Sâhib, and vakîl Subbayyan, telling them to do their best to succeed in this affair.

The order ran as follows:—'When we made peace with the French, it was resolved that none should trouble the Moghul's countries. It is wrong of you to break these terms and take their people prisoners. On reading this you should release these two respectable persons, and send them to Pondichery, else we shall have to send a large force to assist the French.' Thus the letter cringed rather than commanded.

I have just taken the mint people to visit Madame Dupleix. They took of me three rolls of silk at 30 pagodas and presented them to Madame

She thanked them heartily for it, and they paid their compliments.

The three hundred Mahé sepoys who marched to Âlambarai came in this evening with their jemadar Shaikh Hasan.

Tuesday, June 27.[1]—To-day I had a most pleasing talk with the Governor who was kindness itself. He asked when he could attend the marriage at my house. I said, 'Whenever you please.'—'But fix the day,' he answered. I told him that as he took no meat on Fridays and Saturdays, Sunday would be best. 'Very well,' he said; 'but I do not see why you should spend four or five hundred pagodas on entertaining me; a mere collation will serve.' He said he would speak to Madame, and, after a few minutes, came back and said, 'Why should you waste five or six hundred pagodas? Do not spend more than thirty, that is quite enough.' Madame also said the same, and I consented. After a pleasant conversation of two or three hours with her, about the details of the marriage processions, I took leave of her and went to my nut-godown.

Wednesday, June 28.[2]—This morning I went to the Governor and told him I had heard that Mr. Hallyburton and Mr. Allen,[3] the chief dubâsh, Mutyâlu Nâyakkan, Varâhappayyan's son, Venkata Nâyakkan, Kuppayyan, head-peon Âdiyappa Nâyakkan, and two

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[1] 17th Âni, Prabhava.
[2] 18th Âni, Prabhava.
[3] Ranga Pillai is wrong about the second person. Beawes and later Crompton were proposed, but no one of this name.

hundred peons had been sent with a present to Nâsîr Jang by the English; that there were a hundred coolies to carry the presents, and that they were accompanied by the Moghuls and Harkaras who had come from Nâsîr Jang. The Governor asked when they started. I told him that as they set out a hare crossed their path, and they had returned in consequence of the ill-omen[1]. He said I was to find out when they would start and let him know; so I chose ten from among Malayappan's peons and sent them off. The Governor then said, 'All the Europeans, both young and old, think the decorations of the pandal and the marriage-processions are extraordinarily magnificent. I hear the pictures hanging in the pandal show the capture of Madras, Mahfuz Khân's defeat, his flight into Mylapore, the fight at Fort St. David, the Coffrees capturing the battery, and my reception of Nâsîr Jang's presents, when I was wearing the turban. Every one says that nothing like it has ever been seen in Pondichery since the day it was founded.' I answered that the procession might be fine, but the pictures in the pandal merely celebrated his exploits and reflected his glory. He smiled, and said, 'I never met any one so sensible as you. I well know your gratitude and affection for me. God will bless you and reward

[1] Ranga Pillai's news is fanciful. The embassy was ready to start, but news arrived that Nizâm-ul-mulk had marched from Hyderabad to Aurangabad, and the embassy was put off. On the arrival of Nâsîr Jang's letters, it was decided to send Mutyâlu, without any Englishman. *Fort St. David Consultations*, August 31, 1747.

you with glory, wealth and prosperity for exalting the French name. For your zeal to promote French interests and honour, you will be spoken of before the King and throughout the whole kingdom.' Thus he praised me with kind words for about two hours. I answered, 'I deserve no praise, I am your slave. All the honour is due, my Lord, to you. How else can I repay your benefits than by calling my son—should I ever have one—by your name?'

Just then we heard the sound of guns, and I wondered if it came from Fort St. David. But the Governor laughed at me and said they must be fired in honour of my daughter's marriage. He asked, 'Who gives to-day's feast?' Parasurâma Pillai, I told him. He asked if the feasts would go on until the marriage was over. I said, 'Yes,' and when he asked who was giving to-morrow's feast I told him, Sadayappa Mudali.

He then asked if the coral merchants had examined all the coral when I took them to the Fort; and I told him they had seen and valued the small-sized but not the large yet.[1] He answered that when this

[1] Coral formed one of the exports of the French Company. The English Company also exported it in the seventeenth century, but afterwards gave it up, and allowed private merchants to send out both coral and silver to India on condition that they should be consigned to the Company's Governor and that the returns should be made in diamonds. Ignorance of this difference in the practice of the two Companies permitted an unfounded accusation to be brought against La Bourdonnais, for allowing coral to be carried out of Madras under his treaty, which granted all private merchandise to its owners. Dupleix alleged (falsely) that the coral was the Company's and therefore not entitled to exemption.

had been examined too, they must fix the price. 'Is it true,' he went on, 'that every one assembles at eight in your pandal, and you garland them, and not only anoint their foreheads with sandal but their necks and arms also? And then you distribute *pân*? You are making them ill with it.'—'They are all kind enough to come,' I said, 'because I am your slave.' Then the Governor said to M. Bussy[1] and M. Bonneau[2] that in twenty months' time the splendour of the marriage would be spoken of in the Gazette. They said this marriage was finer than even a royal wedding, and discussed European marriages for nearly an hour more. I then took my leave and went to Parasurâma Pillai's feast.

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[1] Born 1718. He came out to the French Isles and accompanied La Bourdonnais on his expedition. He was at this time Lieutenant of the Volunteers of Bourbon, a Creole company.

[2] Accompanied La Bourdonnais as Commissary General from the Isles where he was a member of the *Conseil Supérieur*. He died at Pondichery in December 1747. La Bourdonnais alleges sundry scandalous facts about him. *Mémoire pour La Bourdonnais*: *Pièces Justi*: No. CXV. n.

JULY 1747.

Saturday, July 1.[1]—This morning I went to the Fort at eight and saw the Second, M. Legou, and others about Company's business, and then went to the Governor's. He said that M. Delarche had written wishing to return. 'Has 'Abd-ul-hâji[2] reached Fort St. David?' he asked; 'If so, we may tell Delarche to come back.'; I agreed, but said that 'Abd-ul-hâji had not yet reached Fort St. David. He asked whether the people with Nâsîr Jang's presents had started yet.

We then spoke of general matters, and he said he wished to see every one who had come for the marriage at my house. I said I would present them to him. 'Ten thousand people,' he said, 'have come in for your marriage; rice is dear already; there will be a famine.'—'Sir,' I said, 'it is not my fault. People come because of the stories of your victories—the capture of Madras, and the defeat of the Nawâb of the country, Mahfuz Khân—stories that are now familiar far and wide. But for you, no one would come here to honour me or any one else. Both here, and from Madras to Negapatam, there have been many rich marriages before; but

[1] 21st Âni, Prabhava. Ranga Pillai dates it June 31

[2] I believe the same as the man commonly called in the English records Hâji Hâdi. He was for sometime *naib* or deputy at St. Thomé, and the English put great faith in his friendship. See, *e.g*, *Madras Consultations*, March 25, 1745, and June 11, 1744. However he was at the same time in correspondence with Dupleix. Cultru, p. 192, *n.* 3.

now people come who never before stirred from their homes, because they have heard of your renown. Ask if what I say is not true!' He agreed, and asked me to present to him all the big people who had come for the marriage. I said I would.

Afterwards the Governor sent for Appu and said he would come one day to one of the feasts, sit along with the other guests, and eat off a plantain leaf. Appu answered that he might, and the Governor then said that he himself would give a feast one day in honour of the marriage. Appu told him that was not usual after the marriage was over. 'Well,' said he, 'I will choose a day when the girl is better, as she is ill now, and give them a fine entertainment.' The Governor spoke of this to five or six Europeans with great animation.

Thursday, July 13.[1]—This morning I went to the Governor's and he told me to write to Mahfuz Khân and to Nâsîr Quli Khan his dîwân. The letter to the former said, 'Write to me of your welfare and happiness in having seen Nâsîr Jang. The English are so puffed up with having visited Nâsîr Jang and sent him gifts, that they slight our father[2] and say scandalously that the Subah of Arcot will change hands and be given to a new man. I think this bodes ill to them, and that you will not suffer them to speak thus. With your favour we would have chastised them, but, anxious to obey our father's

[1] 1st Âdi, Prabhava. [2] Anwar-ud-dîn Khân.

orders, I have let him know of this and he has sent 'Abd-ul-hâji to the Governor of Fort St. David. I have thought well, however, to inform you also. You know the shameless behaviour of the English.' It ended with compliments, and mentioned the capture of the Frenchmen at Tiruviti. The letter to Nâsîr Quli Khân was similar. Vakîl Subbayyan was ordered to see that they were despatched at once to Nâsîr Jang's camp.

I reported the following news to the Governor: The English have driven out of their bounds all the people who have lately settled there from Pondichery and Porto Novo—even the beggars. Muhammad 'Alî Bêg and other Porto Novo merchants who came on account of the marriage at my house were not allowed even to enter the bounds. Three jaggery-sellers, natives of Pondichery, have been seized, given forty lashes, and turned out with tom-toms tied to their necks.

The Governor asked what we could do in retaliation. I said, 'Seize and deal likewise with two or three who happen to come from Cuddalore, and then proclaim by beat of tom-tom that no one is to go to Cuddalore.'—'All right,' he said; 'keep it secret and do so.' The rest of our talk was about nothing of importance.

Saturday, July 15.[1]—According to the Governor's orders of yesterday, I told Avây Sâhib to come and

[1] 3rd Âdi, Prabhava.

read to him the letter that came yesterday from Imâm Sâhib. It said:—‘ Please obtain and send to Nizâm-ul-mulk a hundred candies of copper, two hundred of tutenague, one hundred of lead, and a hundred bales of English broad-cloth. Avây Sâhib will give you Nizâm-ul-mulk's pass and send the goods to Aurangabad. You have written that you wish to exchange Madras for Valudâvûr and Villiyanallûr, and that I should settle the matter. You seem to think lightly of Madras, as if it were a place of small advantage. But your conquest of it and your victory over the Nawâb of Arcot have spread your fame even to Agra and Delhi. Why then should you give up Madras? I will secure for you the possession of Valudâvûr and Villiyanallûr. Ascertain the assessment, the collections and the names of the jaghirdars. My people also shall make enquiries. Please give my son, Hasan 'Alî Khân, a little money as I have already asked you, and also advance money to purchase and make ready things against my daughter's marriage. You will have received already the *sarpech* sent you by Nâsîr Jang. If you get the telescope now sent mended, and send another one, he will be as pleased as if he had been given a lakh of pagodas. Do not ómit this. It will serve as a mediator to make friends for you. There is a book in the French tongue about the body, bones, veins and other doctor's matters. Please send me a Persian translation of it, or, if there is none, the book itself.’

After hearing this, the Governor, in the presence of Avây Sâhib, gave me the following :—a book with pictures of the parts of the body and their uses; a book about instruments and medicines; two telescopes, English-made, one long plated one and one coloured, and another of brass with which to see the moon and the stars. He also told me what must be said in the letter to Nâsîr Jang to go with these things by Avây Sâhib, and to write to Imâm Sâhib the assessment and collections of Valudâvûr and Villiyanallûr. After he had finished his instructions, Avây Sâhib asked about the other articles mentioned in Imâm Sâhib's letter. The Governor told me to see that a hundred candies of copper were given by the Company's merchants, and asked how much tutenague they had. I told him a hundred candies, and he said that also was to be given, and he also promised out of the Fort[1] a hundred candies of lead and a hundred bales of French broad-cloth, as we have no English. He further said that he would pay 1,000 pagodas out of the interest due, and told me to take a receipt for it. Avây Sâhib said it was not enough. The Governor answered that the broad-cloth, lead, tutenague and copper would come to more than 30,000 pagodas, and that he would give the rest after the ships arrived. Avây Sâhib then took leave and went home.

The news about the marriage has already reached Madras. M. Dulaurens heard on Monday, July 10

[1] *i.e.*, out of the Company's godowns in the Fort.

from his son-in-law, M. Barthélemy, saying that Pâpâl had died on the 7th at half-past nine. He sent for Muttayya Pillai, and told him, saying with much feeling that it was very sad for the bridegroom and a shocking and undeserved misfortune for me. On hearing this Muttayya Pillai fell down and wept for grief. All the Europeans, men and women, Hindus and Muhammadans, even the children, mourned, and the whole town wept. M. Dulaurens and other Europeans said, 'When it grieves us so much, what must it be to Rangappa and his wife?' M. Dulaurens asked Gôpâlakrishna Ayyan to write me a letter of condolence, saying that it must be ascribed to the ill-fate of my son-in-law and that we must submit ourselves. The letter was bitter reading to me. M. Barthélemy sent it. Muttayya Pillai of Porto Novo who left here for Sadras on June 28 in a Portuguese ship,[1] Captain Antonio de Campos, was in Madras and was present when M. Dulaurens told Muttayya Pillai in the Fort about Pâpâl's death. Gôpâlakrishna Ayyan's letter described the extreme sorrow felt by Muttayya Pillai and all the people in the town. Tirumangalam Kumarappa Chetti and other merchants also wrote to me. When people who only hear of it are so grieved, what must I feel who witnessed it? I wonder I still live. My heart must be of iron, not of flesh. Had this blow fallen ten days before the marriage, or after it, it would not have been so

[1] The *San Luis*.

overwhelming; but falling amidst the marriage feasts, it is unbearable. Man's efforts are vain. Heaven's decrees surely come to pass however we attempt to resist them. None can take away from what God ordains or add thereto. What can I do?

Sunday, July 16.[1]—This morning the Governor sent for me and asked what was the news from Fort St. David. I told him one of Mr. Griffin's officers[2] had been made commandant of the troops. When his commission was read, a black flag was hoisted above the English flag in the Fort, and again when the troops were paraded. They fired a salute of fifteen guns. They were all marched out to the Manjakuppam garden, with three hundred Coffrees and the military from Bombay. They are preparing powder, shot and military stores, and are getting large supplies of biscuit ready. Madame Morse is still there. The men-of-war are taking in provisions and stores. The two men-of-war[3] that arrived four days ago landed some wounded men. They had been attacked by French ships near Galle and escaped by crowding all sail. They are waiting for English ships from Bombay, and they say among themselves that some

[1] 4th Âdi, Prabhava.

[2] George Gibson, Captain of Marines, 'an old and experienced officer.' *Fort St. David Consultations*, June 22, 1747. His commission was delivered to him before the paraded troops July $\frac{1}{12}$, *Fort St David Consultations*, May 5 and June 30, 1747. Mr. S. C. Hill suggests that the 'black flag' was really a broad blue pendant flown by Griffin as Commodore.

[3] There is no mention of these in the Company's records. The story of the French ships is almost certainly false.

of the King's ships are coming to the help of the French. Hâji Hâdi has not succeeded in getting the two prisoners released. Bikkan Khân,[1] who has been on this coast before, is coming with 300 sepoys from Anjengo and some soldiers have been sent to meet them. Nâsîr Jang's presents have reached Arcot and passed on.

The Governor asked me why the English hoisted a black flag. I said it was a European custom of which he must know more than I.

Then Shaikh 'Abd-ul-rahmân, the Head-Jemadar, came. He related the contents of a letter which he had received from Miyân Sâhib of Perumukkal, as follows :—'When Mahfuz Khân reached Nâsîr Jang the latter refused to see him, because he had fled before the French and disgraced the Moghuls. Mahfuz Khân has encamped a league away, and is negotiating with Nâsîr Jang.' On this the Governor said, 'But our vakîl at Arcot writes that Mahfuz Khân has had an interview with Nâsîr Jang and was well received; and that Nâsîr Jang has even promised

[1] Bikkan Khân was an officer, not of the Anjengo, but of the Tellicherry garrison. He had been sent with a company of sepoys from Mahé to Pondichery in 1742 at the same time as Shaikh Hasan and 'Abd-ul-rahmân. In 1744 he was sent back to Malabar with his company which was reduced. I presume he then entered the English service. In 1747 he was sent across with 225 sepoys 'who have been prevailed on with much difficulty on condition of being advanced two months' pay each and diet money in their passage.' *Tellicherry Diary*, June 6, 1747. They arrived before $\frac{\text{July 23}}{\text{August 3}}$, and insisted that the allowance of diet money should be continued to them. *Fort St. David Consultations*, July 28, 1747.

to give him the management of the Mysore affair. So it has been written to Anwar-ud-dîn Khân. Is it false?' — 'Miyân Sâhib's vakîl,' said I, 'is at Nâsîr Jang's camp, and his report is probably true, for however low the Arcot credit may be, the Arcot people will always speak highly of it.'—'What has really happened then?' the Governor asked.—'Nâsîr Jang only wants to get some more money,' said I. He agreed that it might be so.

After this Shaikh 'Abd-ul-rahmân said that Bikkan Khân's sepoys were well trained. I answered contemptuously that however brave a man might be, he had no chance of distinguishing himself if he chose the unlucky side. The Governor, noticing my expression, asked what we were saying. I repeated it, and he said to 'Abd-ul-rahmân with a smile, 'For all their skill, the enemy will certainly be defeated, for they are not on your side.' He did not understand what the Governor really meant, and said, 'What does that matter? They are good soldiers.' The Governor told me to explain, as the man did not understand his meaning. So I explained that as the Governor's days of good fortune were coming, the enemy would not be able to stand before him, however many brave men they might get. Then 'Abd-ul-rahmân understood.

Afterwards we spoke of various matters for more than half an hour, and I showed him how fortunate he had been and how luckily things had fallen out. I then took my leave and came home.

The Governor went in and fetched a petition that the Reddis of Alisapâkkam had presented to him this morning, stating what they had lost by plunderers. I read to him the details of their losses as they were written down:—

23 or 24 garse of paddy, ragi and other grain @ 45¾ pagodas the garse	1,058 pagodas.
113 houses burnt down	940 „
177 head of cattle...	215 „
40 sheep	8 „
4 plantain gardens	125 „
Gold jewels and other property ...	143 „
Total ...	2,489 pagodas.

'Are we to believe this?' the Governor asked. —— 'When Nâsîr Quli Khân was in camp at Tirukkânji,' I answered, 'there were thieves and plunderers about for two or three days. But on Muhammad Tavakkal's request, he gave orders and it was stopped. Besides, how many cattle must have been used to carry off so much grain? and how much space for storing it? These things make the petition seem false. But the petitioners swear that Lazar's people know all about it, as also the peons who were on guard; as these men say the same, how can we prove it to be false?'——'Of course the witnesses expect their share,' he observed. 'But,' said I, 'it is not just to dismiss the petition without enquiry.' ——'The place is neither my village, nor the Company's, but M. Dumas' village,' he answered;

'let Dulaurens give compensation if he likes.'[1]——'They knew M. Dumas as Governor, and they know you as Governor, but no one else. They will do as you tell them after hearing their case,' I replied.—'But they value their huts at a thousand pagodas, and you told me there were only three or four houses,' he rejoined. —— 'Yes,' I said, 'there are only four houses, all the rest are huts. But if we only set them at three or four pagodas each they will come to four hundred. Add another four hundred for the houses at a hundred each, and the whole comes to 800 or 900 pagodas. Besides, they have as witnesses Lazar's people, the Company's peons, sepoys and some Ariyânkuppam people. They made regular reports to Lazar who knows the whole business. They say they are your subjects and your slaves, and have suffered heavily while your dependants made lakhs of money out of Madras. It is not fair, they argue, for even peons to get 50 or 100 pagodas while they themselves have lost so much by their evil fate.' The Governor laughed, said it was bad luck, and, giving me the petition, told me to tell them so.

Monday, July 17.[2]—There was nothing specially noteworthy to-day, nor did the Governor speak of

[1] The village of Alisapâkkam was given to Dumas in 1740 by Safdar 'Alî, in reward for his services in sheltering Dôst 'Alî Khân's family. Dulaurens was acting as attorney for Dumas, and the revenue was farmed out to Lazar (Chinna Mudali) brother to Kanakarâya Mudali, the late Chief Dubâsh.

[2] 5th Âdi, Prabhava.

important matters. But M. Élias sent for me early this morning by Kulandaiyappa Mudali to talk over an important piece of business. I went at six, and he began by condoling with me, saying I did not deserve such a misfortune, that God's will was beyond human powers, and it was no use to grieve. Then he asked whether I had sent my property out of the town, as danger was at hand. 'What do you mean?' I asked.—'The English are sure to receive more ships,' he said, 'and God knows whether we shall. One should take some precautions. It is no good repenting afterwards.' I assured him there was no danger; but nothing I could say persuaded him. Thinking it little use to argue with him, I told him I would take care of my affairs and he could take care of his.

Then I went to the Governor and told him that not only M. Élias, but councillors as well, were preparing to go away, and arranging for the safety of their property as they feared the town might be taken. If councillors do this, what will others do? All but the Governor distrust the future. It rests with Heaven to decide.

Tuesday, July 18.[1]—To-day two letters came from Chandâ Sâhib at Satâra, one for the Governor and one for me. They were brought by Râjô Pandit. I reported their contents to the Governor as follows:— 'It gave me unspeakable joy to hear of your welfare,

[1] 6th Âdi, Prabhava.

your courage and fortitude, your victories, renown and liberality, from Jayarâm Pandit who has returned after visiting you and Raghôji Bhônsla's gumastas. He related your promise to pay on my behalf one lakh of rupees as soon as I leave Satâra, a second when I reach Cuddapah, and a third when I reach Arcot, together with 10,000 rupees to Jayarâm Pandit if he brings me safe there[1]. Your kindness to him, to my family and to my son gave me great joy when I heard of it. My affairs are already more prosperous, for Jayarâm Pandit has mentioned your promise to Sâhu Râjâ, Raghôji Bhônsla and others. God will therefore bless you with yet more victory and fame. Just as I had gathered troops to set out on my journey, I heard that Nawâb Âsaf Jâh and Nâsîr Jang were already at Sîrpi or thereabouts. I am therefore waiting. Nâsîr Jang remains, even now that Nizâm-ul-mulk has departed for Aurangabad. He has been ordered to collect the peshkash from Mysore, and the Arcot etc. arrears, but that is all. The rains have set in and delay his return. I am only awaiting his departure when the rains are over; and as soon as I arrive my power shall be

[1] On May 4, 1745, the Pondichery Council promised Chandâ Sâhib a loan of a lakh of rupees to assist him in becoming Nawâb of Arcot. Cultru says that he was released by the Marathas in 1748, without any intervention of the French. (Cultru, p. 230). In 1747 the Council wrote that the loan was still withheld. (*Cons. Sup. à la Compagnie*, January 31, 1747, *P.R.—No.* 7.) The present letter, if Ranga Pillai may be trusted, shows that Dupleix had promised thrice as much as the Council had authorised, and that the loan when made was not to pay Chandâ Sâhib's ransom, but to pay his troops on the march.

yours. If any English ships are cruising about, with your courage and with a fort as strong as Lanka,[1] you need fear nothing. But should they fire on the town, the children and infants in my house would be terrified. Please send them to Wandiwash or some other place of safety out of reach of cannon.' In his own hand he added, 'Nâsîr Jang is ordered not to pass the Ghats, but to camp about Sîrpi and collect revenue, and he will not go to Arcot. You need not fear anything from him. As soon as the rains are over I myself will come and destroy your enemies like fire set to a heap of cotton.'

I told all this to the Governor, except about sending the children to Wandiwash for fear of an attack by the English. But he was not pleased with the hearing. A letter like this should have made him smile and filled him with great joy. I suppose there must have been cause for anxiety in the letter that came from Surat this morning.

The Governor's letter to Nâsîr Jang is as follows:—'I have received the presents you were pleased to send me through Imâm Sâhib. I have sent you one very good telescope and two more like those you already have together with two books about the body. There is a physician here who can explain them in Persian, and also the construction of the telescopes. If you desire him, he shall be sent to you. I send also a copy of a letter I have already sent to Nawâb

[1] The mythic fort of Râvana on the island of Ceylon.

Anwar-ud-dîn Khân, describing the shameless conduct of the English. If you read this at your convenience, you will see who is in the right. God has blessed you with power next under the Moghul, in order that you may punish the unjust. We expect several Europe ships to arrive soon. When they come, I will send gifts which may be worthy of you. Of this I will write again.'

After I had read this letter to the Governor, he told me to give it with the telescopes and the books to Avây Sâhib, to be sent off quickly. I did as he directed.

The runners who arrived from Surat this morning, said that two days before they left seven large Europe ships were in sight, but they did not know to whom they belonged. Even when closely questioned, they could not tell whether they were French or English, and said that they showed no flag. A hundred and fifty Coffrees this evening were sent aboard the damaged ship in the roads.[1]

Wednesday, July 19.[2]— This evening at six o'clock letters came from vakîl Subbayyan and Muhammad Tavakkal at Arcot. Subbayyan's letter says, 'Mutyâlu Nâyakkan, the Fort St. David vakîl, has reached Arcot with the presents for Nâsîr Jang and with Nâsîr Jang's people. He has presented Nawâb

[1] The *Bourbon*, which, instead of being broken up, was converted into a floating battery and armed with twelve 18-pounders. *Cons. Sup. à la Compagnie.* November 30, 1747 (*P.R.—No. 7*).

[2] 7th Âdi, Prabhava.

Anwar-ud-dîn Khân with a nazar of twenty-one mohurs, Husain Sâhib with eleven mohurs, and Sampâti Râo with five mohurs, and has given Pichchâ Lâlâ five rupees. He told Anwar-ud-dîn Khân, Husain Sâhib and the rest that the French had treacherously seized Madras and were now plundering it, and that he was going to Nâsîr Jang to get it restored. He asked the Nawâb and Husain Sâhib to assist, and paid them many compliments; but the Nawâb took no notice, and Husain Sâhib only said that the two nations were his two eyes. Mutyâlu asked him to inquire into the dispute and do justice between them; but Husain Sâhib answered that if he did so, he would have to condemn the English. Sampâti Râo also gave a similar answer. Mutyâlu and the rest of the Fort St. David embassy are very dejected, and mean to set out in three or four days. Muhammad Kamâl and Ratnâji Pandit are mediating on their behalf. When Mahfuz Khân appeared before Nâsîr Jang, the latter said in great wrath, "You have ruined your districts and oppressed your inhabitants. Your misrule has made you infamous. You have stored up grain and sold it only at high prices and made a famine. Do not appear again in my presence." So Mahfuz Khân is now keeping aloof and trying to make his peace. What further happens I will write later.' Singâram's letter says, 'You know that the runners who went to Surat were imprisoned. It was the head-runner's fault that your letter to the French factory there fell into the hands

of the English[1]. The runners who were seized on their way there have now been set free and have arrived here. In future let all affairs be done through me, for Subbayyan is trying to introduce some other person.' With the exception of this last I told the Governor everything—about the Fort St. David business, about Mahfuz Khân, and about the runners' release. He told me to put off writing to the Nawâb and Muhammad Tavakkal, as he had ordered in the afternoon, till we saw what was going to happen.

Sunday, July 23.[2]—A letter has been received to-day from vakîl Subbayyan at Arcot. He says, 'Mutyâlu Nâyakkan and the others from Fort St. David have been halting here on their way to Nâsîr Jang with presents. After many efforts he has obtained a dress of honour from the Nawâb worth twenty or twenty-five rupees, but even that was not conferred in person. Muhammad Tavakkal has taken Mutyâlu two or three times to Husain Sâhib's with whom he has had secret conferences, and also to the dîwân's for the same purpose. Afterwards Muhammad Tavakkal carried him to his own house and gave him a dress of honour, Mutyâlu giving him a roll of scarlet broad-cloth in return, and perhaps also some present in secret. Nâsîr Jang's

[1] Letters brought by two pattamars from Pondichery were delivered by mistake to Mr. Fraser. See *Surat Diary*, April 5, 1747, in *Forrest's Bombay Selections, Home Series*, i. 276.

[2] 11th Âdi, Prabhava.

presents which were brought here by coolies have now been put on five camels that have been bought. The coolies have been sent back along with Malrâjâ and his peons who came with them. The rest have now gone forward.' This letter was written on July 18.

When I reported this news to the Governor this morning, he told me to write the following letter to Nawâb Anwar-ud-dîn Khân :—' We have already sent M. Delarche to you to represent the capture of two French gentlemen, the Chiefs of Kârikâl and Mahé, near Tiruviti. It is now a month since you sent 'Abd-ul-hâji to Fort St. David to speak about this matter, and he has been there a fortnight; but up to now we have received no reply, although we have heard ten times from Fort St. David that they will not release the prisoners in spite of your orders. It is usual among Europeans to exchange their prisoners, but we did not do so, preferring to apply to you. The English write to you that they never create disturbances, and that they always obey your orders; moreover they have been sending people to tell you so. You know the terms in which both they and we have written to you. But they capture two Frenchmen in your country at Tiruviti, and send out peons to seize the grain that has been purchased in your country as it goes along the roads, and take the bullocks also. We have never done so. According to custom we shall now exchange the two prisoners, and we write to acquaint you of our

purpose.' I sent off the letter to the Nawâb, with others for Muhammad Tavakkal and Subbayyan, at two o'clock this afternoon.

Friday, July 28.[1]—To-day jemadar 'Abd-ul-rahmân came and told the Governor that a Tinnevelly poligar had stopped Bikkan Khân on his way with 300 men from Anjengo and Tellicherry. The Governor called for me, and told me to get J'afar Sâhib, Mîr Ghulâm Husain's father, to write to Mîr A'azam, who has married Mîr Ghulâm Husain's niece, and ask him to arrange with the poligar to send Bikkan Khân and his people back again. Jemadar 'Abd-ul-rahmân and Madanânda Pandit therefore went to J'afar Sâhib and got the letter. A letter was written to Mîr Ghulâm Husain in the Governor's name and another in mine; and all three letters were sent off at ten o'clock to-night with one of J'afar Sâhib's people, one of 'Abd-ul-rahmân's and two of ours.

Saturday, July 29.[2]—This morning I related to the Governor the contents of vakîl Subbayyan's letter which ran as follows:—'Nâsîr Jang has been in Mysore, and as the arrears were not paid up, he ordered the country to be ravaged. On that they offered thirty lakhs of rupees, but he demands fifty lakhs of pagodas. They are negotiating. Mahfuz Khân is with the Nawâb of Sîrpi. He has written that he must pay fifteen lakhs of rupees else his

[1] 16th Âdi, Prabhava.

[2] 17th Âdi, Prabhava.

business will not be settled. They have sent a draft on Kâsi Dâs Bukkanji for five lakhs and about the balance have written that the rains have failed, famine has followed, many have died, and the revenues are in arrears; that the country is impoverished, and much damage has been done by the French ravaging a hundred and fifty villages; that under these circumstances they cannot pay more than the old rent, for, even if there should be good rains and harvests this year, it will be three years before the revenue is straight again. This is their answer to Nâsîr Jang's report to Nawâb Âsaf Jâh that their rent should be raised.

'The daughter of Muhammad Tavakkal's elder brother has died. A week after, his younger son, fourteen years old, died also, and his elder son, who was recently married, is ill as well.

'Hâji Hâdi has written from Fort St. David to Arcot that the Governor refuses to release the two Frenchmen taken near Tiruviti unless the French release the several English people whom they seized at the Mount. Husain Sâhib and Sampâti Râo have been consulted, and it has been resolved to require the English people taken at the Mount, and M. de Leyrit and M. Le Riche taken at Tiruviti, to be sent up to Arcot and a reconciliation made. M. Delarche's expenses at Arcot, and the hundred rupees given to Singâram for sending letters to Nâsîr Jang, Imâm Sâhib, and others, will be added to my account which will be sent later.'

I related all this to the Governor, omitting what he said about his account. When the Governor heard what was said about exchanging the French prisoners for the English captured at the Mount, he laughed and said contemptuously, 'Let them go!' He spoke thus because seven or eight days ago an exchange was agreed on:—Mr. Morse, the former Governor of Madras, for M. de Leyrit, M. d'Espréménil's younger brother, and Mr. Perceval, a brother-in-law of Mr. Benyon[1], once Governor of Madras, for M. Le Riche, the Chief of Kârikâl. The letters about this have been sent, and it is arranged that the French prisoners shall be returned.

[1] William Perceval married Cornelia Horden in 1730. Richard Benyon married as his second wife in 1738, Frances Davies née Horden, sister to Cornelia.

AUGUST 1747.

Friday, August 4.[1]—This morning the Governor sent for me, and said, 'Madame d'Espréménil is leaving for Sadras to-day and will take a Portuguese ship there for Bengal. She will be escorted by twenty or thirty horse and fifty sepoys. Find out whether there are any English on the road, and tell M. Cochinat[2] who is also going.' I therefore sent a peon to ask the runners about it. The Governor then talked of various matters for two hours. He was in a good humour. Then 'Abd-ul-rahmân came with his son, who is ten years old. He complained that his pay was not enough to live on. As the Governor was in a good temper, he ordered his pay to be raised two rupees. Madame d'Espréménil set out with the horse and sepoys between four and five o'clock this evening.

M. Friell, who is a mischief-maker, arrived from Madras at six this evening. We shall see what trouble he makes with the business here.

A Brâhman came to-day from Malrâjâ at Cuddalore, saying that he would come over here if the Governor pleased. I mentioned this to him, but he only said, 'Do what you like about it.'

Friday, August 11.[3]—At half-past four this afternoon, Jayanti Râma Ayyan[4] came and said that he

[1] 23rd Âdi, Prabhava.
[2] He was a Lieutenant of Dragoons. Nazelle, p. 190.
[3] 30th Âdi, Prabhava.
[4] A grain-merchant, settled to the northward.

wished to take his leave of the Governor and go. As I have a pain in my leg, I was unable to go with him, so I sent Madanânda Pandit instead, to get the Governor's permission. He was admitted at five. Five guns were fired, and presents were made—to Jayanti Râma Ayyan two rolls of scarlet broad-cloth, and to Hanumanta Ayyan and the gumastas of Goralavar and Muppiri Chetti two yards of scarlet broad-cloth each. The Governor told him that he must send us plenty of grain hereafter; all he need do was to send news as soon as it reached Pulicat and we would fetch it.[1] He answered with many compliments that he would do so, and taking leave was with me by half-past five. He told me he was going to leave to-morrow and so departed. He and Madanânda Pandit also said that the Governor had told them the news he had received from Mahé—that a Goa sloop had brought French letters thither and that a large number of ships were coming[2]—they would be here, the Governor said, in seven or eight days.

A letter came from Anwar-ud-dîn Khân to-day, saying that he was unwell and wanted some medicines. It was brought by a camel-courier and was written in French. The Governor on reading it said

[1] Perhaps it was more than a coincidence that grain which Jayanta Râma was supposed to be obtaining for the English was detained at Pulicat the next year. *Country correspondence* 1748, p. 71.

[2] Dupleix was expecting the fleet which, under Saint-Georges, was first scattered by a storm, and then destroyed by Anson and Boscawen off Cape Finisterre.

that when the Nawâb was ill, at all events, he remembered us, and ordered M. Cayrefourg to make up the medicines he wanted.

Saturday, August 12.[1]--This morning at eleven all the Company's merchants came to see how my leg was. While I was talking to them, Appu Mudali came from the Governor's with a message for me. He said, 'The Governor asked me if you had come, and I replied that your leg was too painful. He then asked if you could not come supported by two men or carried by four, and at last told me to tell you that he had received excellent news from Europe, that a large number of ships were coming, and that he was troubled at your absence because he wished to speak with you in person. I am sent to fetch you somehow or other and to tell you to announce the approach of the shipping.'

On hearing this I presented Appu with a necklace and a turban. The merchants also gave him two yards of broad-cloth. He received these and departed. The merchants left at noon after talking for a little while.

Sunday, August 13.[2]—I went to visit the Governor at three o'clock this afternoon and found him walking on the verandah before his house. As my leg was still painful, I had to be helped by two men to get out of my palankin and could only walk slowly with their aid. He laughed when he saw me,

[1] 31st Âdi, Prabhava. [2] 1st Âvani, Prabhava.

but I salaamed and then sat down to rest on the other side of the verandah. Then the Company's merchants came; I went in with them and offered limes to the Governor. They did so too and paid their respects. He told us that many Europe ships were expected and that trade would be brisk; that M. Dumas had died in Europe; that two directors of the Company had been dismissed and replaced by new men, who were of good family, rich and well-known, who would not take bribes or demand presents like their predecessors, but manage affairs well for the sake of their own reputation.[1] 'The new directors,' he said, 'have spent 60 lakhs of pagodas on fitting out ships and preparing troops, without counting the cost, in order to win fame and glory for the Company. By the grace of God, the investment will be large, and I shall ask you to sign the contract without delay.' Thereon the merchants praised the Governor's courage and fame. He observed about M. Dumas' death[2] that no one who went home after an Indian career lived for more than four or five years. The merchants answered, 'God bless you with long life, and increase your

[1] For corruption among the directors of the French Company, see Cultru, pp. 20, etc. No new directors were appointed between 1744 and 1748 (see list of directors in Weber's *Compagnie des Indes*, p. 451); the passage possibly refers to the increase of the Syndics from two to six in 1745. (Weber, p. 487 and n. 2.) The directors were practically nominated by the minister; the Syndics however were elected by the shareholders of the Company and supposed to watch their interests. The cargoes and specie sent out in 1746–47 were considerably in excess of those of the two preceding years. Weber, p. 498.

[2] Dumas left India in 1741 and died in 1746.

fame year by year that we may enjoy peace and prosperity under your benign protection.' The Governor took me in, after dismissing the merchants, and when we were alone he said to me, 'All you have said has come true. Good news has come as we hoped. You foretell the future as though you were an astrologer. Whatever issues from your mouth comes to pass. I have good news for you also. As there are matters which should be spoken of only in private, it would be well if you were to come to-morrow afternoon.' The Governor also gave me news which I cannot write down now, but will hereafter. He then went out driving. I also went out and then returned home.

At seven this evening two Brâhmans came from the Râjâ of Kârvêti with a dress of honour, a paper granting me permission to use the village of [ ] for making salt, and a letter. After I had received these, I arranged for the people's lodging, and sent them away to rest for the night, giving them rice and other food and asking them to come to me to-morrow.

Wednesday, August 16.[1]—To-day a letter came from Mahé, saying that three ships had anchored there, and more had been sighted and would soon come in[2]. It is not known what else is in the letter. The Brâhmans who brought it say as above.

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[1] 4th Âvani, Prabhava.

[2] A ship and a sloop put into Mahé about this time, and there were flying rumours of a French fleet, *Tellicherry Diary*, July 26 and 30, and August 7, 1747.

This evening a sloop, coming from the northward was sighted by the captain of the dismasted ship in the roads. He fired two guns at her, and she turned as though making for the shore, but then veered to the north and put out to sea again. The captain of the ship in the roads fired ten times at her; and the corner battery near the shore and the battery next it also fired; but the sloop escaped. She belongs to the English and so was fired at, though she showed a different flag.

Tuesday, August 29.[1]—To-day I sent Râma Ayyan and Elaichiyappan along with Appu Mudali to ask the Governor what should be done about the festival at Ariyânkuppam[2] which begins to-morrow, as many people will be coming and going with their baggage, palankins, horses and letters; I wished to know whether they should be searched or allowed to pass without. The Governor thought there was no need to search people for the ten days of the feast, but that those who wished to go should come to me and get a chit to pass them by the watch-people at the bounds.

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[1] 17th Âvani, Prabhava.

[2] The Christian festival, which Ranga Pillai visited out of curiosity in 1748. See i, 236 *supra*.

SEPTEMBER 1747.

Sunday, September 17.[1]—Mîr Diyânat-ul-lah sent me word to-day through Madanânda Pandit about news which he had received from Arcot and the merchants there from Aurangabad :—

'Nizâm-ul-mulk, who has been staying in the Fort of Daulatabad, has gone mad, having been bewitched, it is said, by the Killedar. Hair, and rice, both black, red, yellow and white, and other signs of magic have been found on the roof of his house; and his madness has caused general confusion. Nawâb Anwar-ud-dîn Khân has reached Vâlikondai with seventy horse on his way to Trichinopoly. Forty or fifty people were killed on each side in the fight between Nâsîr Jang and the Mysoreans. The Moghuls demand 40 or 50 lakhs of pagodas, and the Mysoreans offer 25. The matter is still undecided. This is true news.'

I reported this to the Governor. He asked the news from Fort St. David. I told him that the English men-of-war had left accompanied by twenty masula-boats and twenty catamarans; that two Company's ships were in the roads; that another ship had come from Bombay, with 200 barrels of gunpowder, many shot and muskets and a few cannon; and that Mr. Morse was at the Company's

[1] 'Other people in the town reckon it 4th Purattâsi of Prabhava, but I reckon it to be the 5th' Ranga Pillai notes in the margin.

garden. After musing for a time, the Governor went to lie down. At half-past ten he went to M. Paradis' garden at Olukarai[1] where Madame d'Auteuil[2] is staying. Madame Dupleix had already gone there after the service in the church at eight o'clock.

Tuesday, September 19.[3]—While I was with the Governor to-day, M. Cornet came. As he was about to go, he asked whether I and the other merchants would not sign the contract. The Governor answered that cotton and thread were said to be very dear in the country, and that we were demanding an increase of nine per cent. as we had heard many ships were coming which would raise prices; and that we also said the English disturbances in the country made it difficult to send money out and get cloth back. After dismissing M. Cornet, the Governor turned to me and said, 'Don't you know that nothing can be done contrary to the order of Council? And won't you believe me? I will represent the matter in Council and get prices raised nine per cent. Can I not write now to give you more, and, when the business is finished, take from you thirty or forty per cent.? Both you

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[1] Olukarai was the health-resort at Pondicherry just as St. Thomas' Mount was at Madras. La Bourdonnais wished to have a house reserved for him there in 1746. *Mémoire pour La Bourdonnais, Pièces Justificatives*, No. 1.

[2] Marie Albert, Madame Dupleix' sister; born 1711; married (1) Aumont in 1728 and (2) d'Auteuil in 1741.

[3] 6th Purattâsi, Prabhava. Ranga Pillai adds a note similar to that of September 17.

and the merchants know that nothing is done but at my instance. Even if they don't, can you not make them understand? Who will contradict you? Have I ever broken my word? But that is what you and they are afraid of.' The Governor also made some more severe speeches, and then I answered, 'I well know that you are thinking how you may benefit us in spite of having passed the resolution in Council. Both the merchants and I know this. But I had to speak about the matter, for there are many of us; they dispute; and so business is delayed. Were there only one, there could be no such disputes[1].'—'Ask them if they can believe me,' the Governor said; 'if they can, let them sign the contract and tell them I will try to get them their nine per cent.; but if they cannot, I won't trust them either, and will require immediate payment for all they have bought of me. If they don't pay, they shall be imprisoned and disgraced. I will ruin them and make them confess that misfortunes happen when people will not listen to me. It shall be spoken of for generations.' He said this very angrily, and to appease him I answered, 'May that never come to pass! The merchants call their children by your name. Since God has so favoured you, why think that they will ever disobey you? Your fame has spread to Delhi. Even people in distant places

[1] The French at Pondichery, like the English at Madras, provided a considerable part of the Company's investment through a body of merchants organised on a joint-stock basis.

give your name to their children so that it shall never be forgotten.'

He heard me with pleasure and asked me what terms I was on with the padres of St. Paul's Church[1]. I answered, 'Now I seldom go there. They used to flatter me publicly for doing good to Christians. They even said that they had sometimes prayed for me so that I might not be separated from them in Heaven. When I went to see them at the New Year, they would call me from out of the crowd and flatter me for an hour and a half together. But as soon as I became Chief Dubâsh on the death of Kanakarâya Mudali,[2] they began to say they would be better off if a Christian were appointed, and that they could not expect help from a Hindu; that they could exercise seven-eighths of the power of Government if the Dubâsh were a Christian, but if he were a Hindu they had difficulties; that the King had ordered that the Dubâsh

[1] *i.e.* the Jesuits. They are often called 'Paulists' by early travellers, less from the great Jesuit College of St. Paul at Goa, as some have said, than from the fact that they were reckoned peculiarly 'the apostles to the Gentiles.' Loyala, after becoming General of the Society, renewed his vows in the great basilica of St. Paul's at Rome. The Capuchins had the cure of Europeans, and the Jesuits of Indian Christians at Pondichery.

[2] M. Vinson gives the date as June 25, 1745, *Les Français dans l'Inde*, p. 1 n., but in a letter *Cons. Sup. à la Compagnie*, February 20, 1746, it is said, 'notre courtier est mort depuis quelques jours.' (*P.R.—No.* 7.) Ranga Pillai gives Feb. 12 as the date, i, 310 *supra*. Ranga Pillai did not become Chief Dubâsh immediately on the death of Kanakarâya Mudali. On January 10, 1749, the *Conseil Supérieur* wrote to the *Compagnie* that no formal appointment had yet been made. (*P.R.—No.* 7.)

should be a Christian,[1] but the Governor ignored the order; and that though Dumas, who unlike you, supported the Christians, was dead, there was still La Bourdonnais; that they had written to the King and would write again unless they soon received a favourable reply. So they have persuaded the Christians that their claims are just. Till now I have said nothing about this, lest you should think I spoke out of self-interest, but as you ask me I cannot avoid saying a little. You have only to make inquiries to learn all about them.'—'They are deceitful people,' the Governor said, 'and can be overcome by nothing but deceit. You must pretend outward respect for them, and win their confidence.' As I remained silent, he went on, 'You must take occasion to visit the Superior, and tell him how you have till now always behaved to their satisfaction, how you have always experienced kind treatment from them, and how you have been

[1] The religious policy pursued in the early part of the century at Pondichery is remarkable. It appears to have been ordered that no mosque or temple should be repaired; Nainiyappan was ordered to be converted within six months under pain of losing his post as Chief Dubâsh; Hindu festivals were prohibited on Sundays and the principal Christian feasts; even when these regulations had caused the greater part of the town to be deserted, the Jesuits urged that a temple should be pulled down instead of conciliatory measures being employed. *Régistre des délibérations du Conseil Souverain*, i, pp. 125, 140, 142, 153, etc. (This valuable collection of documents is being printed by the 'Société de l'Histoire de l'Inde Française' at Pondichery.) It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that in this zealous proselytising policy lies one reason why Pondichery was far inferior to Madras as a commercial centre; and perhaps the same cause also contributed to the absolute failure of Dupleix' efforts to induce the Madras merchants to settle under the French.

surprised to hear from some Christians that they now speak differently about you. Say all this with a smiling face, and tell him that though you have always been ready to serve him, your feelings will change if he believes what common people say about you and if he too speaks ill of you. You must let me know how he answers. If he speaks roughly, you will know how to close his mouth. You alone are capable of doing me this service, and so I have selected you for it instead of any one else[1].' I said I could only visit the padre on business. He replied that some excuse would turn up and then I could go. I agreed to do so. The Governor then went into Madame's apartment; and when he came back he said the priests were clever people, but I was cleverer. He told me to go to them, find out what they really meant, and make them confess their errors. He then went in again, but came back to tell me to persuade the merchants to sign the contract.

Wednesday, September 20.[2]—This morning I went to the Fort and spoke with M. Cornet. As M. David, the Governor of Mascareigne, desired, I sent for the painters and was settling with them the cost of making bed-curtains, having given them the cloth for it, when the Governor sent a peon for

[1] Apparently Dupleix wished to ascertain what was the Jesuits' attitude towards some order regarding that ancient bone of contention—the Vêdapuri Îswaran Temple. See below p. 151.

[2] 7th Purattâsi, Prabhava.

me. He showed me a letter from a padre at Pôlûr, who said that Muhammad 'Alî Khân's son, J'afar 'Alî Khân, was preventing the Christians from building a Church, and oppressing them, and the padre therefore desired a letter to be written to J'afar 'Alî Khân asking him to permit the building of the Church and to treat the Christians better. The Governor said, 'This gives us just the opening to carry out what we resolved on yesterday. Take it to the padre and ask him what should be done. Then bring the conversation to what we spoke of and find out what he really thinks.'

I took the letter at once and went to St. Paul's Church; but as the priest was out and would only come in at eleven, I went back to the Governor and told him I would go about four. I then went to M. Cornet, and, after talking a while with him, I went home, had a bath and my dinner, and lay down. At half-past four I rose again, went to M. Cœurdoux's, and sent in word of my arrival. Prakâsan told me he was alone in his room, so I went and paid my respects. 'What! is this the gate of Heaven?' he asked; 'What has brought you here? What was the matter with you? Are you better now?' I answered that so long as I had his blessing there was no doubt of my getting better. 'What is our blessing to you?' he exclaimed; 'It was the Brâhman's blessings that cured you.'—'I have always acted,' I rejoined, 'impartially between Hindus and Christians. You must have heard

from your catechists that I always give immediate attention to their complaints. Till recently you have always been very gracious to me, but for the last few days you have been speaking of me unkindly. I can only ascribe it to my bad fortune.'—'If we had a Christian as Chief Dubâsh,' he said, 'we could trust him; and before you became Dubâsh, you were favourable to us; but as soon as you were appointed you began patronising Hindu temples, giving them privileges, but quite neglecting the Christians. Brâhmans and Hindus have received honour while we have suffered.'—'It is true,' I answered, 'that there has been much distress these last three years, because no Europe ships have arrived, because trade has been bad, and because the famine has brought rice to only half a measure per fanam. But no one is to blame for that. Had it not been for the genius of M. Dupleix Mahârâjâ the town would have been utterly ruined.'—'Does not M. Dupleix favour you?' he asked.—'It is not M. Dupleix alone who favours me,' I said; 'Ever since my father's time, for the last twenty-three years, I have been treated with respect. Even when Kanakarâya Mudali was Chief Dubâsh in name, I enjoyed three times as much power as he. Do not think that the present Governor alone respects me, or that my power and honours only began with my appointment as Chief Dubâsh.'—'We all know that you belong to a respectable family,' he answered, 'that has been held in esteem

for two generations. You have held important places and won the good will of Europeans. But if you had been a Christian, many others would have become so too.'—'Your words astonish me,' I said. 'The Christians form only a sixteenth of all the people here, and all are poor save the family of Kanakarâya Mudali and his brothers[1]. It is only of late years that a few have been able to keep themselves in comfort as Europeans' dubâshes or in other employments; they have been able to build themselves brick houses and to save fifty or a hundred or two hundred or three hundred rupees. The rest are all servants and coolies. You know this well and that it is not so with the Hindus. They are the Company's merchants; they are employed at the beach, in the choultry,[2] in the Fort,[3] and in the cloth, iron, rice and wheat godowns. They even supply the provisions for the barracks in the Fort. Such are the big appointments that they hold. Some private merchants are rich enough to obtain ten or twenty thousand pagodas' worth of goods on their own credit in dealing with the Councillors and other Europeans. All the renters of the out-villages are Hindus. Christians hold no such posts. But as Hindus hold all the high employments, how can you suppose that I could convert

[1] 'Encore ne seroient ce que des gueux.' *Régistre du Cons. Souv.* (September 3, 1705), i. 25.

[2] That is, in the Sea and Land Custom-houses.

[3] In the Accountant's and other offices.

them? Those of my caste and family who are dependent upon me would suffer if my hands grew weak; but the merchants are all Chettis, Kômuttis, Brâhmans and Guzarâtis; those in the Company's service are mostly Brâhmans and Vellâlas. All the shepherd caste [1]except Muttayya Pillai graze sheep, and have no other means of livelihood. But each is his own master and does not trouble about the rest. So if one turns to another religion, the rest will not follow him. Though you can see this as plainly as a nelli-berry[2] in your hand, yet you ask me such a question. I must think that you are not in earnest, but are only sounding me. Though Kanakarâya Mudali was a Christian, and was dubâsh for twenty years, Arumpâtai Pillai, Sadayappa Mudali and many others of the Agamudiyans[3] never were converted. His family was converted in his father's and grandfather's time; they have increased by marrying with people in the country districts; but he made no converts after he was employed. I only say this by way of reply, for you know the whole truth. Kanakarâya Mudali died a year and a half or two years ago. But it is only lately, in the last month or two, that there has been this general distress such as we have never seen before.' —'Say what you will,' said the Superior, 'I am sure that all would become Christians if only you

[1] To which Ranga Pillai belonged.

[2] The fruit of the *Phyllanthus emblica*. The saying is proverbial.

[3] See Thurston's *Castes and Tribes*, s.v.

would set the example. We should be quite satisfied with you as Chief Dubâsh if you were a Christian. As you are not, we have had several times to urge M. Dupleix to appoint one. We have written to Europe, and we will write again. We will do our utmost, we will speak in the Council, for we have got a letter from the King that the post must be reserved for Christians.'—'I never asked for the appointment,' I answered. 'When the Governor offered it to me, I refused at first and then only accepted in consideration of the future. Even when Kanakarâya Mudali was alive, I had a palankin, and torches,[1] much influence and a great trade. Thus it is clear that I did not seek the appointment at all, but was obliged to take it as I lived in the Governor's town. This is known to you, to the Council, and to all who live here. You know even better than the others. I don't depend upon being dubâsh.'—'Quite true,' he said; 'and you are more capable than any one else; but I think that if a Christian were Dubâsh, even though he were a fool, many Christians would prosper. If you were a Christian, you would make many converts. If only Kanakarâya Mudali had been as clever and persuasive as you, he would have made many. May God bless you and take you to Himself.'—'If it be so decreed,' I said, 'it will surely come to pass.'

[1] Marks of dignity which only the principal inhabitants were allowed to use within the Fort, alike in English and French settlements.

On this there was a little silence, and then he asked me if what he had heard from the Governor was true, that I was to explain to the heads of castes the orders about the Vêdapuri Îswaran Temple. I answered that I should do my best to carry out the order, and he rejoined that God would reward me for my service. I said, without committing myself, that I would spare no pains in the matter, so far as it was in my power. I then showed him the letter from the Pôlûr padre to the Governor, and said I was sent to ask what answer should be made. He said, 'I have not heard anything about this letter. There is a village called Pushpagiri, in the Vellore country, near Pôlûr. A letter should be sent to Muhammad 'Alî Khân's son, J'afar 'Alî Khân, who lives near Pôlûr, asking him to treat the Christians and the padre kindly.' I then took my leave and departed. On my way home I went to my nut-godown, thinking that I would go to-morrow and tell the Governor what had passed.

Thursday, September 21.[1]—When I went to the Governor this morning, he asked me what the padre had said yesterday. I told him exactly as I have set it down in my diary. He then said contemptuously, 'So you must either become a Christian or cease to be Dubâsh! Does the man suppose himself to be the Governor? He is childish; he can do

[1] 8th Purattâsi, Prabhava.

nothing. Their power all disappeared with M. Hébert.[1] Even in Europe people know they are liars and pay no attention to what they say. Did he say anything besides? At all events, you need not be alarmed at what he said.' Just then the padre Cœurdoux came in and said that no reply should be sent to the Pôlûr padre until he had made inquiries. The Governor said, 'Very well, Rangappa, you may write when you are told to.' I then left the room while the Governor and the Padre spoke together. Presently the Padre came out onto the verandah where I was, and said to me, 'I will send you word, my dear Ranga Pillai, as soon as I hear from Pôlûr.' I paid my respects and said I would wait till then, and he saluted me and went away.

Saturday, September 30.[2]—To-day I carried to the Governor the Râjâ of Travancore's messenger, Sorâ Mudali Marakkâyar[3]. I gave the Governor a letter written in *Parangi*[4] and said that a cadjan letter had also come. After looking at it, he said, 'I think the Tamil letter will be the same as this. But

[1] Hébert was Governor of Pondichery 1708–13 and 1715–18. These with the intervening years when Dulivier was Governor, formed the period when the Jesuits received most support from the Government. See p. 144 *supra*.

[2] 17th Purattâsi, Prabhava.

[3] The Marakkâyars are a class of Muhammadans living on the East Coast. To judge from his name, the man here mentioned must have been a convert from Hinduism.

[4] *i.e.*, *Firingi*, I presume here, Portuguese.

you had better go through that and explain it to me. I will read through this one; we will see what differences there are, and then reply. Please send these people to their lodging to rest.' So I sent them away.

OCTOBER 1747.

Sunday, October 1.[1]—At three o'clock this afternoon, eight English ships and a sloop—nine in all—came to anchor in the roads just opposite the town. The cannon were loaded on the sea-wall and then on the ramparts to the north and south also, and everything was in readiness. The Governor only went home from the Fort at half-past six. As it is St. Mary's day, there was a festival at the Capuchins' Church, and twenty-one guns were fired in the evening. I note this because it is not usual; it was done to-day in order to frighten the English ships that are here.

Thursday, October 5.[2]—At half-past six this evening five officers—M. Mainville,[3] M. Changeac, M. Gorlier,[4] M. Mose,[5] and another whom I do not know—set out for Mahé, with five palankins and forty bearers, two bullocks loaded with provisions, three Brâhmans and four of 'Abd-ul-rahmân's sepoys who have often been to Mahé. They took 100 pagodas for their expenses, and besides 1,000 pagodas in two half-bags. I gave the bearers and others batta

[1] 18th Purattâsi, Prabhava. [2] 22nd Purattâsi, Prabhava.

[3] Mainville arrived in India in 1739; was promoted *sous-lieutenant* in 1741; lieutenant 1743?; captain 1746. His account of his career in India is printed in Dupleix' *Réponse à la Lettre du Sr. Godeheu*, 1763, p. 240. It is not entirely accurate.

[4] The name is conjectural.

[5] Ranga Pillai writes 'Môsu.' There was a Pedro Mousse, a Topass, among the employés of the Company.

for fifteen days' journey. The Europeans have orders to recruit five hundred sepoys and lascars, and to return by January; if they can, however, they are to return by December. So they departed.

Before the Governor went to Olukarai to-day, Kâlingarâya Muttayya Mudali, and Muttu, the son of my Vîrâ Pillai, came and said to me as follows :— 'On Tuesday night we heard from Swâminâthan, Sadayappa Mudali's son, and we actually saw in Tamil, the contents of a petition that has been written against you by the Master Gunner, but it has really been done by the Christians and was planned by that fellow Varlâm, Malaikkolundu Mudali's son; Muttukumaran, the son-in-law of Kanakarâya Mudali's sister, and a few others.'

I think Varlâm would not have done this without Madame's consent. The cause of this is perhaps that Manilla Latour[1] told the Governor that Madame a fortnight ago had received 500 or 700 pagodas from that rogue Tiruvêngadam in connection with Rangi's suit. What he told the Governor was this :— 'Rangi the dancing girl died, and, having no heirs, she left her money to a teacher of dancing. Madame has taken 650 pagodas from him; and every one in the European quarter is talking about it. I am

[1] I presume, the son of a French surgeon established at Manilla; he was entertained as a 'sous-commis' in 1739. Dupleix observed of him that 'his capacity, conduct and appearance' would preclude his rising above the rank of 'Sous-marchand.' *Cons. Sup. à la Compagnie*, December 31, 1741, (*P. R.*—No. 6), and *Ministère des Colonies* C[2] 15. I suppose he was called 'Manilla Latour' to distinguish him from the officer of the same name.

ashamed that while you acquire such fame, your wife should be acquiring as great notoriety. I know you will be angry with me for mentioning this, but I cannot refrain from doing so.' As the matter is being tried by the Second,[1] he also has come to know of this bribe, and so have M. Coquet[2] and M. Delarche.

The Governor called the *Procureur Général* M. Lemaire, and the Second, and sent for M. Coquet and M. Delarche. He also sent for me and asked me if I knew anything about the matter. I told him I didn't, that I knew nothing of the dancing girl's death or of her leaving her property to the teacher of dancing. The Governor then told me to ask Lazar and let him know; but Lazar also knew nothing. The Governor then asked Madame about it, and she, understanding the matter, sent word to the Second, Lazar, and others, not to mention her name. When the Second was questioned, he accordingly said that he himself had had the case decided by arbitrators. 'Did Madame mention the matter to you?' the Governor asked. He said, 'No.' But when the Governor was sending for M. Coquet, the Second said, after some hesitation, 'I am here; I know the whole

[1] *i.e.*, in the Choultry Court. No records of the Choultry Court have been preserved at Pondichery for this period.

[2] He was the son of a lawyer, and was sent out by the Company in 1740. Ranga Pillai has already related an escapade of his. *Ante*, i. 411. In 1750 Dupleix observed of him that, although formerly given to wine, he had reformed. *Ministère des Colonies* C[2] 15.

affair; it was I that ordered the case to be settled by arbitration. What is the use of sending for him?' On this the Governor understood the delicacy of the matter and left it alone. Under the circumstances, I think Madame believes that I spread the report about her in the European quarter and got a European to carry it to the Governor; Varlâm, a Topass, and others in her service have prejudiced her against me; and that is why charges are now being made against me.

In order to forewarn the Governor, I went to him to-day and said, 'You will receive a petition against me. Be pleased to make full inquiries and punish whoever is shown to be guilty.'—'Why should there be any petition and who would write it?' he asked.—'I will say who the authors of it are,' I answered, 'as soon as it is received. I believe the Christians have sent it. It is said to accuse me of making money out of the painters, because I have got people from Madras instead of employing Pondichery painters, and it is said that I do not pay them in full; they accuse me of arresting gamblers and releasing them after getting as much as I can out of them; and they say I take one or two thousand [pagodas?] out of the peons' pay. In Kanakarâya Mudali's time, they say, affairs were managed with justice; but as things are left solely to me, I do as I please, and have made much money. If you appoint a Christian instead of me, they say, God will grant you salvation and crown

your doings with success. That is what I hear. I don't know if they have written anything else.'—The Governor answered, 'When it is received, we will give them a lesson.'

Friday, October 6.[1]—News came to-day from Madras that the eight English ships, which passed by here from Fort St. David four or five days ago, are at anchor off Tiruvâmiyûr. At noon, M. Bussy and M. d'Auteuil[2] were despatched to Madras with the European cavalry and some Mahé horse under Shaikh Hasan.

Besides this Shaikh Ibrâhîm was sent with a hundred sepoys to escort M. Miran[3] who is on his way from Kârikâl by Gingee. These men were sent after I had reported the Fort St. David news, that on Wednesday Malrâjâ had gone out with some English troops towards Panruti and Tiruviti, hearing that some Europeans were coming up from Kârikâl.

The news from Madras is that the *Neptune* has been captured and burnt in the roads by the English ships at night. The captain, M. Flacourt, is

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[1] 23rd Purattâsi, Prabhava.

[2] Louis Hubert Combault d'Auteuil was born in 1714. He came to India in 1739 as ensign ('à la suite de quelques folies' M. Cultru says, p. 241). In 1741 he married Marie Aumont *née* Albert. At this time he commanded the troop of dragoons which Dupleix had raised some time before.

[3] I think this must be the younger brother (see above, p. 58 n. 3). He had gone to Kârikâl, it appears, to supervise the lading of a Danish ship for Manilla at Tranquebar. *Le Riche to Dupleix*, September 8, 17, and 21, 1747, (*P. R.*—No. 83.)

an incapable man.[1] The captain of the other ship that is in the roads[2] was on the alert and fired as soon as the English approached her, on which the Fort began to fire also, and the English had to withdraw. It is by reason of this that the horse have been sent to Madras.

On the way a sepoy was thrown off and injured near Nainiya Pillai's Choultry. He could not walk and was brought in to the hospital in a palankin.

Thirty peons have been posted to-day, in sets of three men to every ten miles, from here to Madras.

I sent Shaikh Ibrâhîm to M. Duquesne to fetch me a thousand sheets of paper. After getting it, he asked M. Duquesne, 'Where have we to go? Ranga Pillai told me nothing—only to get the paper.' As M. Duquesne did not know, he took him to the Governor, and asked where the hundred peons were to go. The Governor asked Shaikh Ibrâhîm if I had not told him. He said, 'No,' adding that I had promised to do so when he had got the paper. On this the Governor told him to go to me and get his orders. He then said to M. Duquesne, 'See what excellent good sense Ranga Pillai has! He is fit to be trusted with important matters.' Shaikh Ibrâhîm himself related this to me.

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[1] 'Il n'y avoit sur le *Neptune* que les lascards et un mestice pour le commander.' *Cons. Sup. à la Compagnie*, November 30, 1747, (*P. R.*—No. 7).

[2] The *Princess Amelia*, the English prize. She was saved, not by artillery fire, but by being run ashore. *Cons. Sup. à la Compagnie* November 30, 1747, (*P. R.*—No. 7.)

Saturday, October 7.[1]—To-day the Governor sent for me and said, 'The English have burnt the *Neptune* in the Madras roads. This is the result of Flacourt's being captain. No one else would have behaved so badly, for as soon as the English ships came in sight, he went ashore in a masula-boat. Such conduct cannot be borne with. The English have gone and done this mischief at Madras because two French ships were there. Now I will no longer spare Fort St. David. Place men between Tirukkânji and Devanâmpattanam to report from time to time the state of the marshes and the depth of the Pennâr and the Gadilam within their limits; and let them find out where the troops are posted within the Bound-hedge.' I ordered Malayappan to choose ten more of his men to be stationed between Tirukkânji and Devanâmpattanam and to bring me news from time to time.

Sunday, October 8.[2]—This morning when I went to the Governor's, I met Râjô Pandit who had come from Chandâ Sâhib's wife to tell the Governor and Madame that she was sending them some dishes if they would be pleased to accept them. The Governor accepted and told him to ask Madame. She also accepted, and the dishes arrived, all sealed up, in about three-quarters of an hour. The Governor ordered that they should wait in his office, and made the bearers a present of ten rupees.

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[1] 24th Purattâsi, Prabhava. [2] 25th Purattâsi, Prabhava.

Imâm Sâhib's gumasta, Avây Sâhib, sent Chokkappa Mudali with a message for the Governor. He said, 'Avây Sâhib took leave of you two or three days ago, but after all has remained till the fast was over. He had to keep it either at Arcot with his master and his family or here; and as he makes no difference between his master and yourself, and as he could not reach Arcot in time for the Khutba to be read, he has stayed here and now asks leave by me to depart to-day. As he represents Imâm Sâhib, you have given him a palankin and other things—favours which he will never forget. He is your servant and will ever obey you. M. Dulaurens has removed the goods lodged in Imâm Sâhib's house at Madras. What is yours and Imâm Sâhib's is all one, and it does not matter whether you keep the goods or give them back. As you and Imâm Sâhib are persons in authority, Avây Sâhib will do whatever you are pleased to order.' The Governor replied, 'I am very glad Avây Sâhib has read the Khutba here. On this feast he has had a palankin; on the next I hope he will have a horse and an elephant. God speed him and may he start quickly. Let him see that Imâm Sâhib writes what is suitable about our grants for Valudâvûr and Villiyanallûr, and then we will give Avây Sâhib a handsome present. As for the goods which you say M. Dulaurens has removed from Imâm Sâhib's Madras house to the godowns in the Fort, they shall be returned if they are really yours. But I

hear that you are claiming what is not really yours. It is said that among other things there are English clothes and hats, torn and packed up in disorder. They would not be like that if they were yours. Evidently strangers have lodged their goods in your house for safety, and you are claiming their goods as yours.'—Chokkappa Mudali answered, 'But we are not claiming them now for the first time. Three days after M. de La Bourdonnais captured Madras, he searched the house and made an inventory of what was there. Another inspection and list were made in M. d'Esprémény's time. If these lists are compared with that which has now been made, you will see whether the goods are ours or not. There is no doubt that they are ours. However we leave the matter in your hands and will obey your orders.'—To this the Governor said nothing, so I turned to Chokkappa Mudali and said, 'You have delivered your message and may take your leave.' He accordingly salaamed to the Governor who bade him depart.

The Governor then turned to me and said, 'If the goods are really Imâm Sâhib's, how came these European things among them? It is two or three months since the goods were removed, and all he has done has been to write about it now and then. If they were really his, he would not have kept quiet for so long.' I answered, 'M. de La Bourdonnais examined the house and made a list of the goods as soon as he took Madras. Another list was made in

M. d'Espréménil's time, and a third when the goods were taken away. They declare that if the lists are compared, the matter will be made quite clear. They say also that they make no difference between you and their master; that they will remove the goods if you please to permit them and, if you do not, they will write to him what you declare.' The Governor made no answer, but sat deep in thought.

Half an hour later a letter came by runner from Madras, saying that the nine English ships and the sloop that had entered the Madras roads had sailed to the North-East and gone out of sight. This was written by M. Dulaurens. The Governor read it, and then, with the letter in his hand, came to where I was sitting, and told me the news. I said, 'Your good fortune confounds the minds of the English; and while you get glory, they get nothing but disgrace. Have I not always told you so? Instead of keeping quiet, they appear here and there; and their coming before Madras and then retreating adds to your fame and their dishonour.' The Governor laughed and went back into his room. He then called me in and said, 'Write at once to Jayanti Râma Ayyan, and tell him to send here all the grain and paddy he can get. Let his boats say they are going to Cuddalore and so put in here, and you may add that the English ships have all sailed away and are no longer on the Coast. Write at once and get the grain.' I accordingly wrote a letter to Jayanti Râma Ayyan and sent it to Madras by runner.

Vâsudêva Pandit then came to the Governor and said that as tobacco from the northward had reached Mylapore, a letter should be sent with orders to bring it on here.

The Governor called me and said, 'Cannot you attend to these matters? I have no time for trifles like this. Henceforward do you do what is necessary, without bringing them to me or waiting for my orders.' As Vâsudêva Pandit and I were going out, he asked me to write to Gôpâlakrishna Ayyan at Madras. I promised to do so to-morrow.

I then came home, bathed, and, after dinner, was sitting chewing betel when Annapûrna Ayyan came. He said, 'Louis Prakâsan came and told me that the Kârikâl priest wished to see me. When I went to him, he told me I was a good man, always did as they wished, and there was a favour I must promise them. I asked what it was that I could do. He said he had heard that you would do whatever I asked, and I was therefore to ask you to get the Vêdapuri Îswaran Temple pulled down. I told him it was impossible, that you would never listen to me, and that, had it been possible, Kanakarâya Mudali would have got it done. The priest answered that he did not because he was a Christian and besides he was not so clever as you. He said you could persuade people with a thousand reasons, put your opponents to silence, and do as you pleased. If I explained the matter to you and got the temple removed, he promised they never would

forget it so long as their church lasted. That is what he told me.' Annapûrna Ayyan laughed a little as he said this, and added with some hesitation, 'They are always saying things like that; what have we to do with it?' I suspect he has promised his assistance to the priest.

Tuesday, October 10.[1]—When I went to the Governor's this morning, I carried him two coco-nuts that had been brought by the nakoda of the ship from the Maldives; and I told him that the nakoda had asked me to show them to him and would come in person to settle the price.[2] He took them and placed them on his table, saying that the Râjâ of the Islands had already sent him two like them.

He then asked if I knew what had become of the English ships after they left Madras. 'I don't know at all,' I answered, 'but a Bengal ship[3] has arrived at Fort St. David. The captain told the Englishman at Pulicat[4] that ten ships—Company's and men-of-war—had reached Bengal from England[5] and were coming on with a large quantity of military stores. He repeated this to Mr. Griffin, the

[1] 27th Purattâsi, Prabhava.

[2] *i.e.* for the cargo of nuts? Coconuts from the Maldives were reckoned the best in India.

[3] Mr. William Foster, C.I.E., kindly informs me that she was the *Princess of Wales*, and that she brought 113 men.

[4] See above p. 4.

[5] The news, it appears, was not quite accurate, for shipping—five Company's ships and three men-of-war—reached Balasore only on December 23. *Fort St. David Council to the Company*, February 13, 1748.

Commodore, at Madras, and he landed some soldiers at Fort St. David the day before yesterday.'—'It is quite true,' the Governor observed, 'that he announced that news at Pulicat and that he has reached Fort St. David. Find out what other news there is.' I said I would.

The Governor then told me to find some means of winning Bikkan Khân over to our side, and to do my best about it. I said I would. 'If he comes over,' he said, 'he shall have the same rank as 'Abd-ul-rahmân and a present of 1,000 pagodas. Tell him so and do what you can.'—'What can *I* do?' I answered; 'your good fortune will carry everything. If he joins us, he will become famous, and prosper. Otherwise he will be thought a coward and be despised. One of the two must happen—you will see.' The Governor smiled, and added, 'You may even promise him 2,000 pagodas if he brings in his sepoys with their arms. In order to make him believe you, you may send him a letter sealed with my Persian seal.' I said I would do so and retired.

Another piece of news is that I gave the Governor, when Madanânda Pandit was with him, the letter that Avây Sâhib sent yesterday. He asked me what it said. I interpreted it as follows: 'M. Dulaurens has removed all the goods in Imâm Sâhib's house into the Fort. In spite of the letters, you still delay. We consider you and Imâm Sâhib as the same and make no difference between you. You wrote to Imâm Sâhib asking why his son who had

always lived there under the English had gone to Arcot, saying that so long as you owned the town he should regard it as his own and desiring that his son should live either at Madras or Pondichery. That is why we have never moved the goods though we could have done so.'—The Governor said, 'The goods consist mostly of white woolen caps such as the English wear in the cold weather, long gowns, clothes, stockings, bales of coarse cloth and other merchandise. There are few things such as Muhammadans use, and those they are welcome to have. If they refuse to accept them, they may be put against the goods carried out of Madras in Imâm Sâhib's name.'—Chokkappa Mudali replied, 'You and Imâm Sâhib are one. It matters not to us whether these goods are with you or with him. We will tell Imâm Sâhib whatever you say, and will in turn tell you his answer. What is there more for us to do?' He added, 'Much merchandise was carried out in Imâm Sâhib's name after the owners had paid 15, 20 and 22 per cent. We can prove this and will produce witnesses if necessary; and now they put the blame upon us.' I interpreted this to the Governor without Chokkappa Mudali's understanding what I was doing. The Governor understood and withdrew into his room as if angry. I then turned to Chokkappa Mudali and said, 'Now you have had your say, you can go. We will see about this to-morrow.' So he took his leave.

Wednesday, October 11.[1]—When I went to the Governor's to-day, he asked what news I had from Fort St. David. I replied, 'The ships which appeared in the Madras roads are expected in four or five days, and three or four will go to Bengal. They say the English are storing ammunition round the Fort. The ship which came in two or three days ago brought rice and is being laded with salt for Bengal. Large stocks of cattle and swine are being collected within the Bound-hedge from outside. They are ready for war. The water in the Pennâr is low.'—'Is there any news of Nâsîr Jang?' he asked. —'After entering Mysore,' I said, 'he has agreed to accept 25 lakhs of pagodas; he has sent the subahdars back to their various subahs—Kandanûr, Sîrpi and so on. He has received news that his father is ill at Aurangabad, and so has marched to the first stage beyond Mysore.'—'And why have not Mutyâlu Nâyakkan and the other English messengers yet returned from Nâsîr Jang's camp?' he asked. I answered, 'He has received the presents and said he would write to the Nawâb of Arcot to send forces, and has sent two dalayets with them to Fort St. David, and so departed.'

This evening the Governor sent for me and told me to send men out to seize letters going to Fort St. David, as we were doing a while ago. I have

[1] 28th Purattâsi, Prabhava.

accordingly chosen fifty and they will be sent out in the morning. To-day was the feast of Mahânavami.[1]

Thursday, October 12.[2]—When I went to the Governor's this morning, he said, 'The letter which came from Madras at one o'clock last night says that six of the English ships that appeared off Madras and then went away have been sighted again.' I said it must be true, as the peons posted along the shore told me the same thing. One of these ships has passed on her way to Fort St. David which she reached at half-past six this evening.[3] Nine guns were fired.

Friday, October 13.[4]—When I went to the Governor this morning, he asked me, 'Is there any more news about the ships which appeared off Madras?'—'The runners say they have disappeared,' I replied. He observed, 'But the peons are posted on a low level, and the ships may be far out at sea. They may not have gone away at all.'

Sunday, October 15.[5]—As the Governor went to church this morning, I did not leave my nut-godown till nine. When I got to the Governor's house, he said, 'The ship which arrived yesterday [at Fort St. David?][6] has sailed for Anjengo. Where

[1] The ninth day of Dasara, when Saraswati, the goddess of learning, is worshipped.

[2] 29th Purattâsi, Prabhava.

[3] She was the *Ilchester*, a Company's ship.

[4] 30th Purattâsi, Prabhava.

[5] 2nd Arppisi, Prabhava.

[6] The *Prince of Orange*, a country ship, arrived on October $\frac{4}{15}$

is the other one going?'—'I think,' I answered, 'that it will sail for Achin in two or three days with salt, tobacco and blue cloth.' I afterwards informed him that I had heard that at present, it was at Pulicat beyond Madras, and that, four or five days ago, a hundred soldiers were sent from Fort St. David in two masula-boats to their squadron. The Governor then told me to get translated into French the letter from Sadras asking for supplies of cordage, planks and beams. He gave it me; I got it translated and returned it; but he gave it back to me and told me to bring it to-morrow morning. That is all the news.

'Abd-ul-rahmân came and told me that a man from Fort St. David had told him eighty men of Bikkan Khân's company were coming and that he himself would follow.

I left the Governor at noon. At half-past one 'Abd-ul-rahmân went and told him that a dalayet had come in from Fort St. David saying that eighty of Bikkan Khân's Mahé sepoys would come but that they wanted his cowle. He wrote one out in French and sent to me for the great Persian seal to seal it with. Elaichiyappan who keeps the key of the bureau in the liquor godown was neither there nor at his house. So, as I was at my house, I sent Vîrâ Nâyakkan to have the bureau opened by a smith and to carry the seal to the Governor. This was done and the seal was sent by a Company's peon. As it was unsuitable, the Governor used the small Persian

seal on which his name is engraved, and sent the cowle. 'Abd-ul-rahmân has undertaken to send it to Fort St. David.

At six this evening there came a letter from Mahé to say that three ships had sailed thence. At half-past seven the sound of two guns was heard out at sea. The letter said that M. Dordelin's three ships sailed four days before writing. It took twelve days to come here, so the ships sailed sixteen days ago. The Governor therefore thought that the guns might be a signal from these ships,[1] and ordered a twenty-four pounder, which stood loaded on the sea-wall to be fired. This was done. He himself went onto the rampart, and ordered the beacons on the shore to be lit. Later, when their light was seen, two more guns were heard out at sea, and the Governor ordered another gun to be fired in his presence. Then they heard two more guns, and as the sound seemed to come from the south, the Governor thought they must come from Fort St. David and at ten o'clock went home. I waited at my nut-godown till ten and then came home also.

Tuesday, October 17.[2]—At seven o'clock this evening my Muttu came to my nut-godown and told me about the petition that was presented

[1] Dordelin's squadron had been ordered to return to the Coromandel Coast; the captains however refused to do so, and sailed for the Isles. See Nazelle, pp. 112, 113.

[2] 4th Arppisi, Prabhava.

at three o'clock this afternoon by Varlâm, Madame's Dubâsh, Muttukumaran, Savarimuttu's son-in-law, and Swâminâthan, Sadayappa Mudali's son, addressed to the 'Seigneur Gouverneur-Général.'

The charges against me are :—

First, that I interfered about the Tamil temple and got the heads of castes to complain to the Governor;

Secondly, that I made a thousand pagodas by getting painters for the Company from Madras while the painters here were starving;

Thirdly, that I seize gamblers and let them off with a light punishment on getting a little money out of them;

Fourthly, that I bring coolies when the rolls are called, and place them, 50 with Malayappan's company, 40 with Vîrâ Nâyakkan's and 30 with Shaikh Ibrâhîm's, and so draw extra money for myself; and they name as witnesses Muttu for Malayappan's company, Dâsari for Vîrâ Nâyakkan's and Paramânandan for Shaikh Ibrâhîm's;

Fifthly, that I got an appointment for Chinna Parasurâma Pillai for 500 pagodas;

Sixthly, that as I manage all the affairs of the town, I settle what I am to get before submitting matters to the Governor;

Seventhly, that I am always slighting the Christians and praising the Hindus; and

Eighthly, they contrast my management with Kanakarâya Mudali's justice, and request the

Governor to make inquiries so that the truth may appear and right be done.

I asked Muttu how he learnt all this. He said, 'I got it from Sadayappa Mudali's son, Swâminâthan, who was present when the petition was being written by a European to be presented to the Council. I asked him how he was allowed to be present. He answered that you had promised to pay him for his trouble when he was with the Siam European[1] but had never done so. He says he is angry about it. I told him that I would speak to you and get him the money. He asked if I was going to tell you all about it. I said I would if he desired. He said I had better tell you secretly. I promised to and asked to see the copy of the petition. He showed it me, and, when I asked, told me that nothing more had been added to it. He added that the petition had been drawn up in French, and given to Varlâm at three o'clock this afternoon, that Varlâm had given it to Madame and that they then had gone home to their food.' I doubt if it is true that there is nothing more in the petition. But we shall see later.

Wednesday, October 18.[2]—A letter came to-day from Mahé. It says[3] that three of M. Dordelin's

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[1] I do not know who this was, but a pretty regular trade was carried on between Siam and the Coromandel Coast.

[2] 5th Arppisi, Prabhava.

[3] This seems inconsistent with what is said below. I conjecture 'It says' is a slip, either of the copyist or of Ranga Pillai, for 'The Brâhmans say'. Anyhow, the news is inaccurate in various details. See p. 176, *infra*.

ships have sailed from Goa to Mahé, meeting and capturing an English ship and a sloop with 13 lakhs of dollars. The name of the French captain is Penlan.[1] On their way here, the Brâhmans who brought the letter saw an Englishman's dubâsh coming from Anjengo. He spoke of the capture and saying it was due to French fortune, asked whether the crews had been imprisoned at Mahé or had been sent to Pondichery. The Brâhmans answered that nothing had been settled when they left Mahé. The Governor observed that the Brâhmans said they saw the prizes in the Mahé roads, but that the letter did not say so.

Friday, October 20.[2]—At eight o'clock last night I received a letter from vakîl Subbayyan who is with Nawâb Anwar-ud-dîn's camp at Trichinopoly. When I went to the Governor this morning I told him the contents, which are as follows: 'The gumasta of Gôvardhana Dâs has sent a dalayet and parwâna from Nâwâb Anwar-ud-dîn to the Governor about the seizure of a Guzarâti's property at Kârikâl. When Anwar-ud-dîn learnt that owing to the English requests Nâsîr Jang had resolved to come into these parts, he wrote to Mahfuz Khân to hinder this; saying that what between French arrogance, English cowardice, and the famine, the country was ruined and could not bear the expense of his army.

[1] Prigent de Penlan was Captain of the *St. Louis*. *Collection Historique*, p. 122.

[2] 7th Arppisi, Prabhava.

Anwar-ud-dîn added that Nâsîr Jang must be persuaded to depart, even if it cost something. A reply has been received by an express, saying that Nâsîr Jang, having settled the Mysore business for 21 lakhs of rupees, was retiring hastily with his horse, and that Mahfuz Khân would come to some arrangement with him and return. The Nawâb was so pleased with this answer that he gave the messenger fifteen rupees and then another ten. I don't know whether he is going to Arcot or Tanjore. He will move in five or six days. Muhammad 'Alî Khân has gone to Turaiyûr with 500 horse.'

On hearing this, the Governor said, 'Anwar-ud-dîn seems to have feared Nâsîr Jang's coming twice as much as I did.' I thought he would not have said this unless he really had been afraid, and answered, 'Your good fortune has guarded Anwar-ud-dîn as well, by causing Nizâm-ul-mulk to fall sick, thus withdrawing Nâsîr Jang from these parts. When you were considering the matter, I told you that, in spite of the English sending presents to Nâsîr Jang, he would not come and help them, and that he would quietly return to Aurangabad or Golconda owing to news of his father or on some other excuse. You said we could not reckon on this. I answered that neither the capture of Madras nor the peace with Mahfuz Khân seemed easy matters beforehand, and that this affair of Nâsîr Jang's would turn out just the same. When I assured you that the future would prove my

words, you were silent. Now, as I told you, Nâsîr Jang has had to return by reason of his father's sickness.' The Governor smiled and admitted it was all true. 'Will Hirâsat Khân's [1] son come here to get married?' he asked. I said he might. M. Paradis then came, and began talking with the Governor, so I withdrew.

At seven this evening three Brâhmans came with a letter from Mahé. Half an hour later, they reported that two King's ships, sailing from Mascareigne to Mahé under La Métrie Baudran had fallen in with an English ship and a Bussorah ship off Goa, captured them, and carried them to Mahé where their silver—13 lakhs of dollars—was being landed.[2] I shall learn what the letter says when I go to the Governor to-morrow.

The Governor related to me the contents of the letter. He said, 'It is true that two English ships have been captured—one from Europe and the other from Bussorah. There is no doubt about it. The latter has silver dollars, gold and merchandise. But we do not know what it's worth, and it is no use guessing. Anyhow the value must be considerable.'

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[1] The Killedar of Sâtghar. The marriage between his son and Chandâ Sâhib's daughter is detailed by Ranga Pillai later on.

[2] The prizes were the *Anson*, from England bound for Bombay, and the *Fakharo Markab*, a country ship, probably belonging to Bengal. They were taken by two French privateers which were commanded by Baudran de La Métrie and La Mabonnaye. The privateers were the *Anglesea* and *Apollon*. *Cons. Sup. à la Compagnie*, November 30, 1747, (*P.R.*—No. 7). The Pondichery Council estimated the value of the prizes at 2 million livres, say £100,000. Thirteen lakhs of dollars would be about £300,000!

Saturday, October 21.[1]—When I was sent for by the Governor this morning, I was asked, 'Why were the guns firing at Fort St. David?' I said there was no ship in the roads, and that it might be a festival or gun-practice. 'It might be so,' he said. 'Have you heard anything about Bikkan Khân's coming?'—'Since God blesses you,' I said, 'what doubt is there of his coming? Since it is ordained that the fort and the garrison will fall into your hands, Bikkan Khân is sure to come.' He laughed. Then he asked, 'What do the runners say of ships being sighted?'—'There is a man-of-war near Sadras,' I answered; 'a masula-boat was sent off to it from Fort St. David with a letter. On their return, the crew went ashore between Tiruvâmiyûr and Covelong to get rice and water, but were seized by some French people from Madras and carried thither.'—'Is the ship still anchored in the same place?' he asked.—'It is to the north of Covelong, out to sea,' I replied.—'And what do they say at Fort St. David about the shipping?' he asked. I answered, 'Mr. Griffin's squadron set sail for Bengal threatening to capture the ships at Madras. Off Pulicat, they met a Bengal ship,[2] which told them that the captain of another ship had put a Europe packet on board to be carried to Fort St. David. Moreover

[1] 8th Arppisi, Prabhava. Ranga Pillai or his transcriber places this date later, but this seems the correct point,

[2] See p. 165 *supra*.

this other captain had said that two men-of-war and eight Company's ships had left England at the end of January and were at anchor (I don't know exactly where) fifteen days' sail away. He had left before them and was off St. Thomé on his way to Madras when a catamaran put out and warned him that the French had captured Madras and would seize him just as they had seized another English ship.[1] He was persuaded of the truth of this by an Englishwoman who had formerly lived in Madras, and so he proceeded to Bengal. When Mr. Griffin heard this, he resolved to defer his voyage, and is cruising off the coast in order to save the ten English ships from falling into the hands of the French. That is what people believe at Fort St. David.'

The Governor said it was true, and that a letter said, 'On September 7 we saw a ship off St. Thomé. She looked like an English ship. We hoisted the English flag, but she put out to sea again.' He remarked, 'Some catamaran must have warned her.'

When I was coming home at noon, I met the Brâhmans who usually go to and from Mahé. They said to me, 'We went with the five Europeans—M. de Mainville and the rest; but were stopped at Âttûr on the Mysore frontier. We gave the men there fifty rupees and a pair of pistols, and so went

[1] The ship thus warned off St. Thomé was the *Oxford*. Visagapatam Council to Fort St. David Council, September 1, 1747, in *Letters to Fort St. David* of that year.

on to Nâmagiripêttai. There the village head-man sent for us. We said we were merchants and asked why he should hinder us from passing; but he would not let us go till he had heard from his master at Sêndamangalam fort, as we were travelling in state with palankins. So he wrote to Kuppayyan[1] at Sêndamangalam fort, and the Europeans were ordered thither. We explained to them the danger of travelling with so much state, and had indeed already warned them about it. Accordingly they burnt the five palankins, with their cushions, pillows, clothes, chests and other useless things, on Monday the 16th, and then went to Sêndamangalam. There Mainville wrote to the Governor, that it was dangerous to travel in palankins, that they had burnt them and would proceed on foot, that they would have travelled easily but for us Brâhmans and thereafter would move faster. The Commandant at Sêndamangalam ordered the Europeans and Topasses to be kept in the fort till he had orders about them from his master at the capital[2], but did not interfere with us and the Sûdras. We told him we were innocent travellers and asked why we should not be allowed to go on when thousands of people like us were always coming and going. He answered he would not let us go as we seemed people of importance, and that we should

[1] Later passages show that he was the Amaldâr of Sêndamangalam.
[2] 'Pattanam,' *i.e.*, the city, Ranga Pillai says.

not be let off, as we were at Âttûr, with a present of fifty rupees and a pistol, and he used rough words besides, which Perumâl Ayyan the Brâhman interpreted. As we had a thousand crescent pagodas with us, the Europeans kept Perumâl Ayyan with them and told us to leave the fort. Then they took their weapons and tried to break out. M. Changeac got out first and the others followed him. They were surrounded, fired, and were fired at. As soon as this fight began, we went off, fearing lest we should be seized and robbed of the thousand pagodas.'

On this I went back to the Governor with the Brâhmans, and, telling them to place the pagodas in their two half-bags before him, related what they said. He became very angry, and said, 'It is all these Brâhmans' fault. Look at M. de Mainville's letter to me of the 16th. He says his troubles have all been due to them and that otherwise he would have travelled without mishap. They have done all this to get a share of the money that these Mysore people will force out of the Europeans.'

The Brâhmans answered, 'We have served you now for fifteen years, and could not live happily if we acted so treacherously to you. If we could even think of such a thing we should not have served under you for so long.' And they said many other things besides, adding that M. de Mainville and the rest must have got away from Sêndamangalam by now.

The Governor took the thousand pagodas from them and sent them to their lodging, saying angrily to me that they had run away through fear, and that it was their nature not to stay and see what happened. I pointed out that these two men had been in charge of the money; that they would probably have been seized as there had been a fight, and then they would have lost the money; that as there were two other Brâhmans to bring news, they had thought it best to bring the money away; and that they said their master would have believed they had done all this in order to steal the pagodas had they remained after the Europeans had been captured. 'Well,' the Governor said, 'you had better go and have your dinner;' and he went and sat down at table.

At seven o'clock this evening a letter came from the officer at the Ariyânkuppam redoubt, to say that 200 military, 400 Malabar sepoys and 100 horse were marching from Fort St. David by way of Bâhûr; and at nine the Governor sent 200 European and Muhammadan horse to Ariyânkuppam. I think the news must be false, for we have twenty men at Fort St. David, Cuddalore, Tiruvêndipuram and Bâhûr, but none has brought me news of this. We shall know about it to-morrow.

To-day Muhammad Amîn and Muhammad Jamâl came from Nâsîr Jang's camp. When they were in Mahfuz Khân's service, they lost their horses in the fight at St. Thomé where Mahfuz

Khân ran away from M. Paradis, and, on bringing me a letter of recommendation from Mahfuz Khân were given a present of forty rupees. They have now come with letters from Mahfuz Khân, from Mirzâ Muhammad Khân[1], Nâsîr Jang's pay-master, and from the camp news-writer. The letters say that the people in the camp are all talking of the bravery of the Governor's soldiers and the cowardice of the English; and that Nâsîr Jang has moved on to Chitaldrûg. When I told the Governor about the letters, he ordered M. Delarche to have them translated into French.

Sunday, October 22 [2]—I had a dream just before five this morning. A woman brought me a bunch of keys and some seals, saying, 'Here are the keys and seals of seven or eight forts. You will soon be master of them. I give them to you. Take care of them. From this day you will be fortunate.' I thought I took them in one hand and a stick in the other, and was going up-stairs. Just then Ârumugam brought me some medicine, and touched me to wake me. I thought his touch was the woman warning me not to stumble. Then I awoke and they struck five on the bell that hangs up-stairs. At the same time I heard the church-bell near my house. I left my bed and sat down. They brought

[1] The letters from Mahfuz Khân and Mirzâ Muhammad Khân to Ranga Pillai are printed in full in M. de Nazelle's *Pièces Justificatives*. *Op. Cit.* pp. 276, etc.

[2] 9th Arppisi, Prabhava.

me a candle, and at once it shot out three sparks. All these things and my peace of mind make me think I am going to obtain greater and yet greater honours. According to my horoscope it is now the period of Venus. To-day Saturn's sub-period ceases, and gives place to Mercury's to-morrow. Moreover I remember that Sîtârâm, the astrologer from the South, predicted that from my fortieth year, that is from the year *Vibhava*,[1] I should possess twelve villages, wealth, and elephants. I was thinking of this when the sparks shot out of the candle. The future will show the signification of my dream, the omens and the prophecy.

When I went to the Governor's this morning, he asked what news there was from the North or the South. I told him I had heard nothing. 'Why,' he asked, 'is the English Governor strengthening the fort, but altogether neglecting Cuddalore?'—'Has not Kâsilevvai already told you?' I said. 'Moreover the English did just the same when the Marathas came.'—'They have done nothing,' he observed, 'to Cuddalore or to the Bound-hedge on the south and west; and are working only to the west of the Fort. Do they think that will protect them?'— 'They think so,' I answered, 'because their evil star is in the ascendant.'—'The Governor is not wise,' he said; 'find out where the ship in their roads has come from and where she is going;

[1] *i.e.*, 1748–49.

and find out also how far it is from Uchimêdu to the works south of the Bound-hedge near the mouth of the river,[1] and how many men they keep in each. When can you tell me?'—'On Wednesday,' I answered.—'Very well,' he said, 'but don't be longer.'

Then one of the palankin-boys who went with M. de Mainville arrived. On being questioned, he said that M. de Mainville and the other Europeans were detained at Sêndamangalam, and had been put in prison, and that in consequence there had been a fight in which three had been badly wounded. The Brâhmans who brought the thousand pagodas yesterday said they had gone off as soon as the fight began. Now the bearer says that at first the Europeans fired at the others, but the latter, being numerous, attacked the French with spears and bamboos. The French then threw away their muskets and fled in different directions. They were pursued and beaten. M. de Mainville, who received a spear-wound, has been imprisoned in the Fort. Perumâl Ayyan has been imprisoned and beaten, and all the baggage seized. The palankin-boy added that on this he and the rest of the bearers had made off, that M. de Changeac and two other officers were so badly wounded that it would be a miracle if they recovered, but that the rest would survive.

[1] These were the out-works at Patcharee Point, etc. *see* Orme's map.

When I related this, the Governor told me to write to the commandant of the Sêndamangalam Fort. I wrote as follows:—

'Thousands of persons daily travel along the road. These people are poor Frenchmen with no employ on their way to the port of Mahé to find employment there. Is it just that they should have been beaten and cast into prison? The Mahârâjâ is an observer of justice. For that reason God has given him the rule of his province. As his nature is such, so you also will seek justice and nothing else. So we write to you. In order to seize these poor travellers' baggage, your people make false charges against them and ill-treat them. We believe you will punish such low persons, and will allow the poor Frenchmen to depart with their baggage, and we hope that in your foresight you will strengthen the friendship which exists between you and us,' with compliments.

This letter was written in Telugu, sealed, and given to Venkatanârâyana Ayyan. Thinking he should not go empty-handed, I gave him two yards of scarlet broad-cloth, six small fans, four clasp knives, two cases of instruments, two large and two small folding knives, and four pairs of scissors; with 20 rupees for his expenses. I gave also 6 rupees to Guruvayyan, who used to go to Mahé, and who went with him.

In case the commandant at Sêndamangalam should be ordered not to release the prisoners or to

send them to the capital, I wrote also to Gôpâl Dâs who, accompanying Sambu Dâs on a pilgrimage to Râmêsvaram, had visited the Governor and become very friendly with me. I sent him a letter also from the Governor. In these we said what is said above but at greater length. I added in my letter that if he would arrange for the release of the prisoners, he might give as much as 50 pagodas to the Dalavâi and the chief pandit and we would pay the amount to any one he named here or would remit it to him; and I said that Venkatanârâyana Ayyan would give other details.

The messengers were warned to be cautious, and, when they were about to depart, the Governor sent for them and gave them a letter to M. de Mainville. He told me to get 100 pagodas from Arumpâtai Pillai and send them to M. de Mainville as he would probably have lost all his money. So I got 100 crescent pagodas from Parasurâma Pillai and sent them by Venkatanârâyana Ayyan and Mahé Guruvayyan.

Monday, October 23.[1]—To-day I sent presents to the Râjâ of Kârvêti, his chief men, and Chakravarti Srînivâsa Âchâri, who came here as his agent. A palankin was made ready as a present for the Râjâ. The gifts were conveyed by Mâdabûsi Ayyavâr Ayyangâr, Srînivâsa Âchâri, Varada Ayyangâr, and Râmakrishna Sâstri from Arcot.

[1] 10th Arppisi, Prabhava.

Tuesday, October 24.[1]—When at Muttayya Pillai's garden this evening I was watching a play in which Frenchmen appeared as Muhammadans, the Governor's peon called me. When I went to him, he asked if I had heard anything about the ship at Fort St. David. I answered, 'No, but I have heard, other news; a Pathân's ship has reached Fort St. David from Galle with a cargo of liquor[2] and arecanuts. The Pathân told the Governor that on leaving Galle he had seen five European ships; they showed no colours and he could not tell whether they were French or English. I hear the Governor at once ordered ammunition to be made ready.'

The Governor questioned me about this, but I gave the same answer as before. Then there arrived from Mr. Floyer a chobdar with a letter, two peons with 500 rupees, and four coolies with 150 unbleached shirts, 75 waistcoats and 75 pairs of long drawers.[3] The Governor ordered me to have them checked. I asked Ranga Pillai, the writer, to check and take charge of them. He said they were all right, so I reported it to the Governor. I was then ordered to find out what the chobdar and peons had to say about the men-of-war. I gave them

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[1] 11th Arppisi, Prabhava.

[2] Presumably, Colombo arrack.

[3] This continuance of private trade between the two Governors, when their respective nations were at war, is not a little remarkable. It may be remembered that at an earlier date Hinde and Dupleix made each other offers of wine. See. ii. 72 and 145 *supra*. It may be conjectured that the present articles were 'slops' for the military.

batta for the night and told them to come to me after supper. When they came, the two Tamil peons told me a long story of which I write down only the more interesting parts :—

'The men-of-war were on their way to Bengal, but heard that ten ships were coming from Europe and so have dropped anchor somewhere between Madras and Pulicat. Only two or three will go on to Bengal; the other two or three will stay where they are. A country ship and a European ship are now in the roads. A mast of the latter has been injured by lightning, but it has now been repaired and she will sail in a day or two. The country ship will sail for Bengal in five or six days. Misfortune has entered the gates of Fort St. David in the person of Mr. Morse, and you may be sure the Fort will surrender to you. He lost Madras and has come to Fort St. David to lose that also. He and Mr. Floyer are on bad terms. While Misfortune is at Fort St. David, Good Fortune is here. Fort St. David is sure to be given up to you. There can be no doubt of it. Bikkan Khân, the Jemadar from the other coast, is not liked by the Governor, who has enemies everywhere for his luck is out.'

After hearing what they had to say, I gave them food and told them to go to rest.

Wednesday, October 25.[1]—The people who came last Friday, the 20th, from Nâsîr Jang's camp,

[1] 12th Arppisi, Prabhava.

were with Mahfuz Khân in the fight at St. Thomé and lost all they had. When Mahfuz Khân came here to make peace, he asked that their losses should be made good to them. The Governor refused, lest the same treatment should be claimed by others. However, as I thought Mahfuz Khân's words should not be neglected, I gave them forty or fifty rupees as compensation and sent them off. So when they were at Nâsîr Jang's camp, they were always speaking about the bravery of the French and the cowardice of the English. Nâsîr Jang sent for them and inquired into the whole matter. Then, in spite of his agreement with the English, that he would recover Madras for 10 lakhs of pagodas[1] with 3,000 pagodas for each day the army marched and 2,000 pagodas for each day he halted, he said, 'How can we march in reliance on these people's word? Let them be driven from the camp.' And refusing to accept their presents, he moved three stages off on the road to Chittirakandi,[2] giving out that he would march to his father at Aurangabad. This was the news in the Persian letters from Fakir Mirzâ Muhammad Khân, the hereditary commander of the forces, from Mahfuz Khân, Nawâb Anwar-ud-dîn Khân's son, and from Saiyid Khân, the news-writer to the Emperor. They have been translated into French by M. Delarche

[1] The agreement was for 3, not 10 lakhs. See letter No. 5 in *Country Correspondence*, 1748, pp. 2, etc.

[2] See p. 251 *infra*.

and shown to the Governor. The copies are in my desk.

Nâsîr Jang, who had intended to exact 50 or 60 lakhs from Mysore, has now accepted 21 lakhs and is hastily departing. Nizâm-ul-mulk has been blockading Daulatabad, near Aurangabad, for three years past; and the Killedar has reported this to the Emperor. He sending for a noble, Amîr-ul-umarâ, ordered him to march with 60,000 horse and 100,000 foot, to seize Nizâm-ul-mulk and either to behead him or to bring him to Delhi. This noble therefore has crossed the Narbadâ, seized Ujjain and other jaghirs, imprisoned the officers and set up his own people. Moreover he has seized the revenues, and lies encamped by the river. This is why Nizâm-ul-mulk has ordered Nâsîr Jang to return at once. He has also asked Sâhu Râjâ for 200,000 horse under the eight generals, Raghôji Bhônsla, Fatteh Singh and the rest. That is why Nâsîr Jang has departed in such haste.

Friday, October 27.[1]—When I went to the Governor's this morning, he greeted me with, 'Well, Ranga Pillai, have you heard the news? Last night I got letters from France by the Surat runners. The Company are very glad to hear of the conquest of Madras, and they write that they were going to despatch at the end of last March fifteen ships.[2]

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[1] 14th Arppisi, Prabhava.

[2] M. de Saint-George's squadron set sail on March 28. All that arrived in Indian waters was three ships under Lozier-Bouvet, who reached the Isle de France in the following October.

As the Company's possessions and profits have increased, they want more goods. As there is no place left to the English in these parts, and as they can no longer endure the war, the King of France has consented to treat about peace.[1] So the war will soon be at an end, there will be a peace in 1748 and we shall soon hear of the treaty. Tahmasp Quli Khân has attacked the English and driven them from Bandar Abbas and those parts. They have thus had to ship what treasure they had at Bandar Abbas and Bussorah; and M. La Métrie Baudran has captured one ship with 10 lakhs of rupees on board and another with 2 lakhs. Besides this, the ships and their cargoes are worth, say, three lakhs; so altogether the prizes come to 15 lakhs.[2] A fifth should go to the King, a tenth to the ministers, and the rest to the captain and his crew, according to their rank, even the lascars who get no pay[3] will get a share.'—'This is excellent news,' I said. —'Yes,' he replied, 'but the ships won't be here this monsoon. They will winter at Achin, Mergui or thereabouts, and only arrive about the 10th or 15th of December.'

[1] See above p. 81 n. 3.

[2] Cf *supra*, p. 176, 15 lakhs of rupees was about £180,000—a material advance on the value which the Council reckoned the prizes at.

[3] I do not understand how lascars could be induced to serve without pay, but there is no doubt as to the meaning of Ranga Pillai's Tamil. Perhaps they were slaves. La Bourdonnais certainly carried Coffrees and I believe these privateers were fitted out at the Islands.

But he did not speak with the gladness that befitted such joyful news. He looked worried—I do not know why, but I shall know later on.

A Portuguese ship, Captain Antonio de Caettano de Campos, came into the roads at half-past four this afternoon. She is bound for Goa. She landed planks and cordage at Sadras and shipped bales of cloth at St. Thomé. She will take in here M. Marignon's [1] goods, and the Council's presents to the Viceroy [2]—a very fine palankin with silver fittings, silver-gilt plates and cups, cloth of gold and similar fabrics. She fired a gun as a signal on anchoring. M. L'Hostie[3] came on her, having visited Sadras and St. Thomé.

An English ship appeared in the roads this evening. Two long-boats full of soldiers were sent off to her, to ask if she would sail in company with the Portuguese ship. Her captain agreed, but she weighed anchor and disappeared in the night. It is said she will return when she has obtained the Commodore's permission.

I hear that the English ship in the Fort St. David Roads has sailed for Bengal. The Portuguese captain tells me he saw the eight men of-war that

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[1] I suppose a copyist's error for 'Brignon'. See below.

[2] This seems to mark the beginning of the intrigues by which Dupleix endeavoured to get control of St. Thomé, especially after he knew that Madras had to be restored to the English.

[3] A man named L'Hostier was at this time Master Attendant at Chandernagore. Despite the difference of spelling, I conjecture him to have been related to the present person who proceeded in November to Kârikâl. *Ministère des Colonies* C_2 33, and *Le Riche à Dupleix*, November 20, 1747. (P. R.—No. 83).

are on the coast lying at anchor off Âlambarai. The runners told me this also, and my gumasta there has written the same. Sambu Dâs sent a letter for the Viceroy to Captain Antonio to-night by his own people. He is writing because when the Captain was at St. Thomé, the Madras people told him that the town had been ruined by the French, but that, if the Portuguese flag were hoisted there, they would invite the merchants thither and the town would flourish. Antonio de Caettano may have told them he would speak to the Viceroy about their petition. I do not know what lies he told, but a large present of cloth and other things is being sent by him. Sambu Dâs has written asking that all future business should be carried on through himself.

NOVEMBER 1747.

Wednesday, November 1.[1]—The news from Fort St. David is that Bikkan Khân, Muhammad Khân, and three or four other jemadars of the Malabar sepoys have been put in prison in the Fort, for holding a correspondence with Pondichery.[2] When I sent Bikkan Khân some sandal, he wrote an answer which was intercepted by Rangappa Nâyakkan's men. The bearer was given fifty lashes and imprisoned with the jemadars. So the English are losing their confidence in the Malabar sepoys and officers; but they have still unshaken trust in the Bombay sepoys. We shall see how it will end.

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[1] 19th Arppisi, Prabhava.

[2] Orme makes a slip in placing this event after the arrival of Lawrence in January 1748 (i. 88). Bikkan Khân with four others was actually arrested on September 30/ October 11, but was not put on his trial until sometime in the following year. Ten letters were produced at the Court Martial, six of which were either to or from Shaikh 'Abd-ul-rahmân. The concluding letter of the series, addressed to Bikkan Khân, contains the following passage, 'If you think that the affairs in your place are upon a good foundation, stay there, or else come hither. I must repeat it to you, that the people in this place are good-natured, and everything shall be done here according as you wish.' There is no mention of Ranga Pillai's letter. In conclusion, the following point may be mentioned. It has been suggested that the cause of the defection of the Malabar sepoys was the denial of diet-money (Wilson's Madras Army; i., p. 51 n., ed. 1874). The passage there cited says that it had been resolved to allow diet-money at least until hearing from Tellicherry. Colonel Wilson seems to have overlooked the Tellicherry answer (dated August 31, 1747) which emphatically says that diet-money had been promised, and there is nothing to suggest that the Fort St. David Council failed to act accordingly. I am indebted to Mr. William Foster, C.I.E., for extracts relating to Bikkan Khân's trial.

Thursday, November 2.[1]—As there has been rain, when I went to the Governor's this morning he asked whether any of our people had come in with Fort St. David news. I told him I had heard of a ship in their roads being wrecked at the mouth of the Cuddalore river. 'Have you heard anything of the men-of-war?' he asked.—'They are all safe,' I answered, 'except one or two that drove southwards. We do not know what has happened to them.' He said we were having good rain and there was more to come.

Then Jemadar Shaikh 'Abd-ul-rahmân came and reported that fifty sepoys had come from Fort St. David, including six who had been my peons but who had deserted. The Governor said, 'You need not keep these; hand them over to Ranga Pillai, for his peons only get half the pay of your sepoys; they may wish to go off again elsewhere; if Rangappa pleases, he may give them a present.'

'According to your tale,' he continued, 'only 400 sepoys came from Malabar to Fort St. David[2]; and 400 have deserted to us. So there should be hardly any left, and yet there are a good many. Suppose 500 came, or perhaps a hundred and fifty more; as 400 have come over, there would be 250 left.'

[1] 20th Arppisi, Prabhava.

[2] Only 354 Malabar sepoys seem to have been sent from Tellicherry—225 with Bikkan Khân and 129 later in the year.

Up till now, Shaikh 'Abd-ul-rahmân has been cheating the Governor. He has been keeping people from Arcot at Arumpâtai's Choultry, training them in the musket-exercise, and passing them off as Malabar deserters whom he has secured from Fort St. David. So he hesitated to answer. I did not explain the matter to the Governor, but merely agreed, and then the Jemadar did so too. There are many like him who make money by lies. The Governor does not inquire into matters of this sort, but he makes a great deal of trouble over trifles.

Tuesday, November 7.[1]—This morning when I went to the Governor, I said how sorry I was at the death of M. Choisy.[2] 'He had two sons,' the Governor said; 'one died sometime ago, after his marriage, and the other on the same day as himself. So none of his children survive. A virtuous and intelligent man is gone.' Thus he expressed his sorrow, and also spoke about it for a little while. Then I told him of the news from Fort St. David, that Bikkan Khân and the Jemadars from the other coast had been heavily fettered, and that proclamation had been made that none should enter the town, and that, if any wished to depart, he must first go to a European and obtain a certificate from him,

[1] 25th Arppisi, Prabhava.

[2] He was the chief at Yânâm. His death was reported to the Company in the Council's letter of November 30. I cannot verify the death of his sons.

carry it to the head of the Council's peons, obtain a permit and, showing it to the guards along the road, so depart. 'As this is being strictly done,' I said, 'those inside find it hard to come out and those outside can't get in. So it is difficult to learn what goes on.'—'The people inside must find it very uncomfortable,' he observed.—'One night,' I said, 'there was an alarm that the Pondichery troops were advancing, and there was the greatest confusion.'—'I suppose they were seized with a panic,' he answered. Then for a time we spoke of various matters.

This evening twenty Mahé sepoys brought in from Madras Lôkâbhirâma Mudali of Tiruvattîswaran Kôvil, Ayyâkannu, the son of Madurainâyakam Pillai of Cuddalore, and two peons. They were seized because M. Dulaurens was informed that they were giving information to the English about Madras. I hear the sepoys say they have arrested somebody else instead of Lôkâbhirâma Mudali, and those who came with the prisoners say the same. We shall learn the details later.

Wednesday, November 8.[1]—When I went to the Governor's this morning he asked if there was any news from the northward or the southward. I said I had heard from Arcot that the rains had been heavy there, heavier than here, but that there was no news from the southward. He said, 'True;

[1] 26th Arppisi, Prabhava.

I have had no letters from Kârikâl.'—'It has not rained since yesterday,' I answered; 'the rivers will soon go down and people will be able to travel as usual.' —'But the rains are not over yet,' he said; 'see the clouds in the north.'—'The South Wind,' I replied, 'is blowing now, and that is a sign that the rains are over.'—'I don't think so,' he said.

We spoke of various matters, and then I said, 'The two sepoys who spread your fame throughout Nâsîr Jang's camp have waited here a long while.' —'If I give them a present,' he answered, 'all those who lost anything in the battle at St. Thomé will expect the same treatment, and it will be difficult to refuse them.'—'But this case is different,' I replied. 'These people have travelled 200 English leagues to Nâsîr Jang's camp where they spread abroad your glory and valour and the shame of the English, so that Nâsîr Jang who had meant to march this way made an excuse to go elsewhere. The paymaster, the news-writer and Nawâb Mahfuz Khân of Arcot, have all written this to you. If you refuse, I myself will give them a present and send them away.' I spoke about this for twenty minutes or so. At last the Governor asked, 'What did they lose?'— 'More than 200 pagodas,' I said, 'and their two horses. But they will be quite content with only 200 pagodas. Mahfuz Khân, the paymaster and the news-writer will be pleased with your liberality and extol your merits.' He then called Ranga Pillai, his

writer, and told him to bring 640 rupees.[1] The latter did so. I gave the money to the two sepoys and sent them away with a letter to Mahfuz Khân. There was no other news.

I came home at noon. I had already given Chokkappa Mudali a pair of diamond ear-rings and this afternoon for what remained due I gave him a letter to Tirumalai Pillai, Muttayya Pillai's son, at Lâlâpêttai. He took his leave and said he would depart to-morrow.

Yesterday four Brâhmans were sent to Mahé with 2,000 pagodas.

Thursday, November 9.[2]—When I was at the Governor's this morning, M. Cornet showed him a sedan-chair which he had had refitted. The Governor had it made when he was in Bengal, and later on had sold it to the Company. M. Cornet had been ordered to refit it so that it might be sent to the Viceroy at Goa. M. Cornet had taken out the old fittings, put in new, and come to show it.

The Governor called me and gave me the letters he had received from the Viceroy and Vâla Mârtânda Râjâ of Travancore. He told me to answer politely and suitably. I said I would, and carried the

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[1] The fixed rate of exchange at Pondichery was 320 rupees per 100 pagodas. See *supra* i. 101. But the market price of pagodas must have been appreciably higher. They are stated by the Council about this time to have been very scarce and dear. *Cons. Sup. à la Compagnie*, November 30, 1747. (*P.R.—No.* 7).

[2] 27th Arppisi, Prabhava,

letters to my nut-godown. Copies of the answers have been kept.

Friday, November 10.[1]—This morning when I was at the Governor's the guards of the runners came and reported that the English had seized a runner who left Kârikâl five days ago with a letter. I told the Governor. He was very angry. 'It must have been the runner's fault,' he exclaimed. 'He must have carried the letter to the English on purpose. I am sure the English peons would not have been abroad when it was raining so.' He ordered the runners between here and Chidambaram to be dismissed and the peons posted up to Villupuram to be recalled. As he was angry, I went out, thinking it was no use speaking to him then.

In about twenty minutes he called me in, and said, 'The rivers are going down; have you had any news from the South?'—'As they are only beginning to sink,' I answered, 'we shall not get news till to-morrow or the day after.' Even now there are five or six hundred bullock-loads of grain the other side of the Ariyânkuppam river, and they cannot be brought over yet.' 'That is true; it is still dangerous,' he observed; 'what is the price of grain?'—'We shall see later,' I replied; 'the customs writer tells me that the Wandiwash merchants have offered the standing crops to the bullock-men, but they have refused to buy.' He

[1] 28th Arppisi, Prabhava.

told me to buy four hundred garce of grain from what is in store at Gingee and Valudâvûr forts, and I said I would as soon as prices sank a little.

Then we spoke of various matters. He said he thought the rain which was threatening might hinder our plan. I answered that God would remove all hindrances and Fort St. David would surrender this time. 'I will go myself,' he exclaimed, 'and there shall be no return, as there was before, until the place has fallen.' I said if he went, there would be no delay, and spoke suitable words, as his good star is in the ascendant. I came home at noon.

At half-past three he sent for me, and said, 'The Portuguese boat that the English seized has returned to Porto Novo. See if you can hire two dhonies at Âlambarai to carry a hundred and fifty or sixty bales. Arrange a proper rate, and if they are damaged we will pay compensation and give a little extra hire as well.' M. Brignon[1] and the Governor gave me this order. I called for Musalayyan and the Company's peon from Âlambarai. They told me that one dhony was lying in the river and that the other had been already hired. I sent them to engage dhonies. The Governor went out for a drive. I went to the Company's merchants and got home at ten.

[1] Apparently a Company's servant. The earliest reference to him I have met with is in 1736 (*Délibérations du Cons. Sup.* iii, 18). A few days after this entry he was at Kârikâl, possibly on business connected with this Portuguese ship. (*Le Riche to Dupleix*, Nov. 20, 1747, *P.R.—No. 83.*)

Saturday, November 11.[1]—This morning the Brâhman Guruvayyan arrived with letters from M. de Mainville, M. Changeac, and the other Europeans imprisoned in the Fort at Sêndamangalam. Among them was a cadjan letter from Venkatanârâyana Ayyan; another was from the French prisoners to the Governor; and the third was from M. Changeac to me. Venkatanârâyana Ayyan's letter was written in great detail and covered twelve leaves. I shall write down what is important in it:—

'I gave the commandant the letter addressed to him along with the present—two pieces of broadcloth, scissors and knives. He said he was sorry for what had happened, but when our people were stopped by the guards, we ought not to have fired at them, but to have asked permission to pass as we were only travellers. Some of his people were wounded and he himself was in danger. That is why our people have been imprisoned and he has written to his superiors. He says also that the officers at the neighbouring stages, being ill-disposed towards him, petitioned, accusing him of robbing our party of their jewels and beating them; that the Dalavâi thereon sent people from Seringapatam to examine the case, with orders to put the Europeans in irons; that he could not help obeying these orders; but that he can get the prisoners released

[1] 29th Arppisi, Prabhava.

before November 22, by writing to his brother at Seringapatam, to the newly appointed Dalavâi [1] and the chief pandit, if we will give 150 pagodas to each of the three. I am setting out for Seringapatam on the night of November 6, and am sure we shall succeed if we offer 350 pagodas. You must reply at once to Seringapatam. At the same time I can speak to Gôpâl Dâs and get a sanad to permit Frenchmen to pass through the country without trouble. Also Jnânam, my friend, is a favourite servant of the Râjâ's; and with his help I hope to succeed in about ten days without any expense. I am sure I shall not return unsuccessful.'

Changeac's letter to me said :—'M. de Mainville, Guillaume [2] and myself have recovered from our wounds; M. Mose and M. Gorlier will be well in about six days. The matter will be soon settled if your people go to Seringapatam and see your friend there. Kuppayyan, the Amaldâr of the Fort, is a rascal. He put us in irons as soon as he heard your people had come. He has given back some of our things, but asks 5,000 pagodas for the rest.'

Amaldâr Kuppayyan's younger brother wrote two letters, one to me and the other to the Governor saying, 'I have learnt the whole business from your letter and your Vakîl, Venkatanârâyana Ayyan, who has come here. Your people ought not to have behaved as they did; but I have

[1] This must be the well-known Nandirâja. See Wilks' *Historical Sketches*, ed. 1869, i. 147.

[2] Conjectural. Ranga Pillai writes 'Yiyôm.'

given Venkatanârâyana Ayyan instructions and letters to the Dalavâi, the chief pandit and my brother, asking them to see to the matter. He will be able to settle the matter as soon as he gets to Seringapatam. The prisoners can be released by November 22, and shall be sent on to Mahé with palankins and presents. As I had already reported the matter, I was obliged by my orders to imprison them, and I cannot release them until further orders.'

I reported this to the Governor and gave him Mainville's letter. At the beginning he grew very angry, and said there was no reason for putting our people in irons, and it was probably due to the suggestions of the Brâhmans who had gone with them. But the latter part of the letter pleased him. It said, 'Owing to Venkatanâranappa Ayyan, light irons have been put on us instead of heavy ones. He has managed to recover our property for us; and since he came we have been comfortable. The messengers from Mysore inquired into the whole matter. Rangappan's man also has gone to Seringapatam, and is likely to settle matters with the help of Rangappan's friend there.'

The Governor was pleased at this, and told me to write. He also wrote to M. de Mainville. I was told to write suitably to the Amaldâr of Sêndamangalam and the people at Seringapatam. I went to my nut-godown and wrote to Gôpâl Dâs, the treasurer Vîri Chetti, Mannappa Chetti, and

Venkatanâranappa Ayyan, desiring them to settle the business quickly. I also got a bill for 640 rupees from Sankara Tarwâdi of this place on Kâsi Dâs Bukkanji's gumasta at Seringapatam and put it in Venkatanâranappa Ayyan's letter, adding, 'See that you do not spend more, and that you procure the prisoners' release and their despatch to Mahé. If you can do this without cost, the Governor will be pleased with both of us; but if at great expense, it will be ill. This is not a time for getting money; for that there will be many other opportunities; but chances of getting a good name are rare.'

The letters were sealed and sent to Mysore by some Brâhmans. Two were sent to Sêndamangalam with my letters and the Governor's, to Kuppayyan's brother, Mainville and Changeac. I signed an agreement with Harisankar Tarwâdi to pay out of the Company's cash the cost of remittance, the principal and the interest for the bill on Kâsi Dâs Bukkanji's gumasta on receiving Venkatanâranappa Ayyan's receipt. I have kept a copy of the agreement.

After sending off these letters at five, I went to the Governor's. In preparation for the expedition that will be made in fifteen days' time, the European and Mahé troops—infantry, horse and artillery—were being drilled just opposite the Governor's house. He and other Europeans were watching from the fort walls. I also with Sêshâchala Chetti and others looked on from near the Council house. Then I went to my nut-godown and so home.

Sunday, November 12.[1]—This morning the Governor sent for me and said, 'You have written to Âlambarai for two dhonies. Now that the Portuguese ship is here, write and say they are not wanted. But say that if they like to send them to Madras to bring goods down here, they may.' So I wrote a letter to Musalayyan and sent it by a runner. The Portuguese ship is being laded with M. Brignon's goods, as fast as possible lest the English ships should come. M. Barthélemy also is lading his bales on her. That is what is being done now. I came home in the afternoon.

When I was in my nut-godown this evening, a Brâhman came from Appu Mudali at six, and told me he thought the head-peons had kept back a sealed letter that I had sent. I called Sântappan and Muttappan, and asked, 'What letters were given you and why did you keep them?'—They replied, 'This is the truth. The runner from Madras brought letters. Among them was one with a torn cover, bearing your seal. We gave it to the peon. Has he not given it to you?'—As this story did not agree with what I had heard, I said, 'As head-peons, you must show all letters to the Governor, deliver the letters for Europeans and bring all the rest to me, to be sent to the proper persons after I have seen them. What right had you to keep a letter? It is a lie that you gave it to the peon; you must still

[1] 30th Arppisi, Prabhava.

have it. I will report this to the Governor to-morrow and have you removed—I must do so.' They denied it, however, and said they would fetch the peon. I waited for a while; and, when I came home at nine, I heard that the peon had brought the packet to the Governor when he was at the Capuchins' Church. One of the covers was torn, and it bore my seal in red wax. Muttan showed it to Malayappa Mudali and when he was told that the seal was mine and the letter was addressed to Ayyâkannu, he thought it must be connected with the betrayal of news to the English for which Ayyâkannu and Maduraināyakam are now in prison. So he hastened to Madame and gave it to her. She put it in her pocket, overjoyed at having found a cause of accusation against me.[1] She hopes to get me punished and to revenge herself. As Varlâm was not there, the letter could not be interpreted to her.

I have had nothing to do with Ayyâkannu, either by speech or writing, for these four or five years. How can there be such a thing as a letter addressed to him with my seal on it? I am perfectly innocent; my conscience is as clear as possible. I think Madame must have contrived this as she was disappointed in her plot against me over the petition.

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[1] One letter produced at the trial of Lakshmana Mudali, Morse's dubâsh, at Fort St. David in 1748, was written by Madame d'Espréménil urging Lakshmana Mudali to accuse Ranga Pillai of sending news to the English. (Kindly communicated by Mr. W. Foster, C.I.E.)

Perhaps she got my seal from my writers by means of Madanânda Pandit, Elaichiyappan or Sivarâma Sâstri's son. But even so, what harm is there? I should have signed the letter, and the plot will be thus exposed. Even if my signature has been forged, I am sure I shall be acquitted. If I had been faithless to my master, then I should fear. But I am sure God will bring to light these works of darkness. The Governor will inquire narrowly into them and learn the truth; and he will be angry with those who have planned this thing. More will be known about this to-morrow.

Monday, November 13.[1]—I have learnt to-day that the letter mentioned above really bore my seal and my signature. It was written at the end of June and invited Ayyâkannu to my daughter Pâpâl's marriage. It still shows marks of saffron[2]. They who carried it with such excitement yesterday to the Governor's wife to-day are downcast. Thinking that I might have asked Ayyâkannu along with others, I examined the list and found his name there.

Friday, November 17.[3]—This morning Sorâ Marakkâyar, the messenger from Vanji Vâla Mârtânda Râjâ of Travancore, was sent away with an answer, and a present of two yards of broad-cloth. Soon afterwards, Madame sent for Vaduganâtha

[1] 1st Kârttigai, Prabhava.
[2] It is usual for Hindu wedding invitations to be marked with saffron at the four corners.
[3] 5th Kârttigai, Prabhava.

Mudali and scolded him for writing 'Ammâl' on notes sent to her without 'Râja Srî'.[1] She said I was a rascal who paid her no respect, with other abusive words. She ordered him to receive fifteen stripes, and declared that if any one did so again he should be whipped out of the Fort Gate—whether it were I or any one else.

Vaduganâtha Mudali told me this as I was going home from the Governor's. My anger was beyond words. I thought of returning to cast myself at the Governor's feet; but on reflection I resolved to tell him later, and so came home.

Saturday, November 18.[2]—This morning the Governor held a Council meeting until half-past ten. When it broke up he sent for me, and said, 'We have been very busy all this time. I have got the Council to agree to an attack on Fort St. David. I mean to go in person, and will not return until I have taken it.'—'What you resolve,' I said, 'you always bring to pass. God favours you, and all your undertakings prosper.'

He smiled and replied, 'You know that people came from Akkal Nâyakkan's woods, and promised us a hundred peons for hire. Send word to them to come. Also find out about the depth of the rivers and the state of the marshes, and be able to

[1] The peon who carried the letters would be unable to read an address in French, and so the name would be written on the back in Tamil. *Ammâl* means 'mother' and is roughly equivalent to 'Madame.' *Râja Srî* is roughly equivalent to 'the Honourable.'

[2] 6th Kârttigai, Prabhava.

tell me when I ask you. Send men along to the mouth of the river. We shall take Muhammadans with camels—will they be able to go that way?'—'Yes,' I answered, 'and elephants also, as well as the bullock-carts and baggage.'—'How soon will they be here?' he asked.—'In ten days,' I said. He then ordered me to look to the ammunition and victuals, that being my special duty, and to see that all was ready whenever it was needed. I promised that nothing needed for the war should be allowed to leave the town, that all should be ready when needed, and that the information should be ready too. I added, 'Akkal Nâyakkan declares he can capture Cuddalore and Tiruppâppuliyûr if you only send him a few sepoys.'—'Get the men ready,' the Governor said; 'if they help us well, they shall have Vandipâlaiyam and Tiruppâppuliyûr. You may tell them so.' I said I would do so, and then presented 'Abd-ul-rahmân's petition and accounts. He told me to send for M. Boyelleau,[1] and draft a letter to be sent with the accounts to M. Louët.[2] I said I would do so, and came home at twelve.[3]

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[1] Had been chief at Masulipatam and at this time was Secretary. Dupleix says he had made a fortune but knew little of India. Cultru, p. 49.

[2] Louët at this time was chief of Mahé where he had put in the whole or almost the whole, of his service. He is said to have been of good family, but 'extrêmement partisan des coutumes Malabares, dont il n'avait pas honte de faire usage.' Cultru, pp. 46 and 48.

[3] A letter of this date from the Pondichery Council to Mahé is preserved at Pondichery (*P.R.—No. 61*). 'Abd-ul-rahmân was apparently claiming money due about 1740 for the services at Mahé of his company of Sepoys.

This afternoon I went to the Governor to ask permission for Khân Bahâdûr[1] to enter the town. 'Has he brought the money he owes me and you?' he asked.—'Chandâ Sâhib's wife has agreed to pay it,' I answered.—'Very well,' he said; 'ask him to take service with us.'—'Such people think it a dishonour to take service with their inferiors,' I replied; 'but they think they will win glory if they serve the great. If you were to ask him, Khân Bahâdûr might consent.' And I added some pleasing words. 'Very well,' the Governor said; 'ask him to come.' On my suggestion, the Governor sent for the Master Gunner and told him to fire the proper salute.

Five or six days ago, Râjô Pandit came and asked permission, in the names of Chandâ Sâhib's wife and son, for Khân Bahâdûr to come to Pondichery. He said that Chandâ Sâhib had written desiring it, that Khân Bahâdûr, when a letter was written him, answered that he owed money to the Governor and me, and that Chandâ Sâhib's wife and son replied that they already owed us money, and would add his debt to theirs. So Râjô Pandit sought the Governor's permission.

When we went to the Governor's, he was upstairs and we could not see him. Nor could we see him that evening, as he sat at cards till seven. So we

[1] Khân Bahâdûr was son-in-law to Chandâ Sâhib. S'aadat-ul-lah Khân had thought of naming Khân Bahâdûr as his successor instead of Dôst Alî Khân. *Fort St. George Council to the Company*, September 26, 1741.

resolved to go next day. As we were going to my nut-godown, I said to Râjô Pandit, 'What are we to tell the Governor? He thinks you will pay Khân Bahâdûr's debt to him, and I think the same about what he owes me. If you offer to repay the money, the Governor will be very glad at such an unexpected piece of good luck. I will consider it settled and be ready to tell him so, or, if I don't tell him myself, I will refer him to you when he raises the question.' Madanânda Pandit said the same.

Râjô Pandit answered boastingly, 'What Khân Bahâdûr owes you is not much to Chandâ Sâhib's wife. She would not hesitate about a much larger sum. I will tell her what you say, and if she thinks I should tell the Governor, and my telling you is not enough, I will come again to-morrow.' So he departed.

When I heard this afternoon that Khân Bahâdûr had reached my garden, I set out with Malayappan, the Nayinâr, Vîrâ Nâyakkan, Madanânda Pandit, fifty musketeers, horses and carriages. It was half-past five when I met him, and as we entered the Valudâvûr Gate there was a salute of nine guns. Words cannot describe his poverty. As soon as I approached, he rose and embraced me; and as he got back into his litter, there was none to raise the curtain for him. I was grieved to see it. I thought how he had inherited ten lakhs of pagodas, and how S'aadat-ul-lah Khân had left him sixty or seventy lakhs of rupees and nominated

him Nawâb of Arcot. Surely it is better to be born fortunate than rich. I carried him to Chandâ Sâhib's house, and after receiving pân supârî I came home.

Sunday, November 19.[1]—I went to the Governor's this morning after his return from church. Kandi Venkayyan brought two letters from the inhabitants of Madras—one for the Governor and the other for me. They say that some time ago all the houses were pulled down as far as the Chintâdri Pillaiyâr Temple[2]; that now it has been proclaimed by beat of tom-tom that all will be pulled down as far as the liquor bazaar; that they had been living quietly under their own roofs although they had lost everything, but that if their houses are pulled down, all they can do is to poison themselves. All the inhabitants signed and moreover there was a long account of their wretchedness and appeals to the Governor's mercy. The Governor gave me his letter and asked what it had to say. I explained to him that it was written in Telugu, with all proper compliments, signed by all the merchants, and ran as follows :—' We are told you have ordered our houses to be destroyed. We lost all our wealth in the late troubles, and so were left without resource in a time of famine. We looked to you for protection as those who toil in the heat of the day look for shelter. If you protect us, you will thereby

[1] 7th Kârttigai, Prabhava.
[2] See Love's *Vestiges*. ii. 142.

acquire merit. If you grant this prayer of many people, God will reward you with even greater glory and renown. It is certain.' And to this I added details to arouse his pity. But he cut me short, saying, 'I might listen to you if I meant to leave the town standing. But since I am resolved to destroy it and to bring its inhabitants here, I cannot listen. I wish Pondichery to grow a hundred times as prosperous as Madras ever was. Apparently you are not ready to assist me in this.' He spoke sharply.

I replied, 'Did I not tell you last year that from *Vibhava* onwards this town would increase so that people would not be able to find ground to build their houses on? I think in four months' time you will see it so.' The Governor then told me to make the Brâhman who has come, persuade the people of Madras to come and build houses here, promising them all protection. I told him the Brâhman desired an interview with him. 'That is not necessary,' he said, 'I have told you what my orders are.' Then he said, 'I hear the new earthworks at the river side at Fort St. David have given way, as well as those which the Coffrees took. Find out and let me know in two or three days' time.' I said I would do so, and returned home at twelve.

This afternoon news came that two ships were off Madras and another off St. Thomé, but it is not known what they are. The ship which came into

Fort St. David roads four days ago sailed away yesterday with firewood and water.

Tuesday, November 21.[1]—To-day I received a letter from Râmakrishna Sâstri, who is with the Kârvêti Râjâ. He says, 'We have reached this place safely, and given Sêsham Râjâ the palankin and dress of honour. He is very pleased. Kandappan, whom you sent as Amaldâr of Yâsananûr,[2] has received a sanad to collect the revenue from July, and the Râjâ has made him a present of four pagodas. I myself have been to the village and given two yards of white broad-cloth to the chief man and a turban worth three-quarters of a pagoda to another. We told them to cultivate the village well. It is watered by a river and a tank. If two or three hundred rupees were spent on it, the village, which is large, would certainly yield 1,000 pagodas a year. The Râjâ is mad at present, and so we must wait for a suitable occasion to get his signature to the deed for the agrahâram. There is no need of a special order from the palace. The amount due to Sambu Dâs Bukkanji is 20,000 pagodas. You need not send an agreement, but we desire detailed instructions from you. Chakravarti Srînivâsa Âchâri is the man whose word has most weight here. He has been granted lands worth 30,000 pagodas and the collection of the Arcot dues. If you wish, I will

[1] 9th Kârttigai, Prabhava.

[2] This place is unidentified.

ask him to go to Pondichery. I have been given two shawls, two cloths and a turban, and all who came with me have also received presents.' Manôji told me the same news as is written in the letter. I shall answer it to-morrow.

When I went to the Governor's this morning, I reported to him the contents of harkara Singâram's letter from Arcot: 'Originally Nâdir Shâh was a subject of the king of Persia. He was sentenced to be beheaded for robbery, but became the leader of a hundred horse and then of an army. He killed his master in April 1739 and called himself Nâdir Shâh. Marching by Nasîrâbâd he slew the king of Kandahâr, and then invaded the lands of Muhammad Shâh, the Emperor of Delhi. He imprisoned the Emperor, plundered Delhi of nine crores, seized the jewels of the Emperor and his nobles, but was at last slain by his younger brother's son. The latter has now succeeded to the throne of Persia, and calls himself Adil Shâh. Kâbul, Kandahâr, Mûltân and all the rest of Muhammad Shâh's dominions have been recovered. Moreover Muhammad Shâh has commanded Sâhu Râjâ to seize and behead Nizâm-ul-mulk, and has granted him all the lands he can conquer. Sâhu Râjâ has taken counsel with Raghôji Bhônsla, Fatteh Singh and Srîpati Râo. Bhâji Râo is besieging the fortress of Yasâl. Nizâm-ul-mulk has sent for Nâsîr Jang to assist him. Nâsîr Jang has settled the revenue of Chittirakandi Bâman at 3 lakhs

of rupees, and is moving towards Sâvanûr and Bankâpuram with 100,000 men. As soon as he crosses the Kistna, he will allow Mahfuz Khân to depart. Nâsîr Jang has demanded 5 lakhs of rupees and a bill for 50,000 has been sent to camp from Arcot.'

The Governor, hearing this, said, 'But Nâdir Shâh was murdered a year ago!'

Wednesday, November 22.[1]—When I went to the Governor's house this morning, he had sent for all the Councillors. They came and held a consultation, and then dispersed. The Governor then called me, and said with much exultation, 'M. Dulaurens has been behaving at Madras as if he had no superior. For his misconduct and Kommanan's, we have resolved to recall him [2] and send M. Barthélemy in his place. This comes of his despising the advice which I told M. Miran to give him at the time of his going to Madras. You will see that he has to come back and remain here, with no more power than a monkey. It is what always happens to those who forget the power of their superiors. Madame Dulaurens [3] too who hoped to rule Madras will have to come back with her

[1] 10th Kârttigai, Prabhava.

[2] See *infra* p. 233.

[3] Marie, daughter of Louis Galliot de la Touche, who came out as a Mariner and subsequently became Master Attendant at Pondichery. (*P. R.—No. 28* p. 851).

husband. I have also recalled M. Gosse,[1] M. Panon[2] and M. Cotterel,[3] and shall send others. M. Dulaurens has spoiled his chances by his tongue; his government has been quite a failure.' He went on railing at M. Dulaurens for three-quarters of an hour. I observed, 'I always knew that those who opposed you would be overthrown. M. Dulaurens is fortunate to have escaped till now. I don't know what will become of him.' I talked suitably on this subject with him for an hour and a half. I then told him of the news that the customs people brought last night and of their list. The three English ships that were off Madras passed here at noon and are anchored off Cuddalore.

Thursday, November 23.[4]—When Cuddapah Ânanda Râo's case was settled in January 1744,

[1] Gosse is said to have been a nephew of the director Saintard. He had served at Mahé and Bussorah. Was appointed Secretary in 1747, and in August went as Second to Madras. The *Conseil Supérieur* said of him that he was talented, but 'son caractére caustique, difficile et mordant, n'est du tout point convenable pour des colonies trop éloignées de l'Europe.' *Cons. Sup. à la Compagnie*, December 24, 1747 (*P.R.—No.* 7).

[2] A Creole from the Isle of Bourbon, and a 'très mauvais sujet' according to Dupleix who writes of him that at Madras 'il a fait sa main autant qu'il l'a pû et vilainement.' He held the rank of 'commis.' *Ministère des Colonies*, C[2] 15. M. de Nazelle mentions a man of the same name as Engineer at Madras (*op. cit p.* 27), but I cannot say if he was the French Civil Servant or another.

[3] Originally a sailor, but, being protected by the Cardinal deTencin, was appointed to the Civil Service in 1740. He had served as 'Lieutenant de port,' inspector of the Hospital, and inspector of Customs. He had only reached Madras in the previous August. Cultru, pp. 47, 50; *La Compagnie au Cons. Sup.* November 9, 1740, and the Council's reply to the Company's letter of November 25, 1741 (*P.R.*—No. 6); *Madras to the Cons. Sup.* August 24, 1747 (*P.R.*—No. 16).

[4] 11th Kârttigai, Prabhava.

Vinâyaka Pandit was given the goods and about 4,000 pagodas, duly registered in the court, and he gave the Governor his share. Vinâyaka Pandit then went to Arcot, leaving the goods in the charge of Ânanda Râo's mother, and there he died. His widow thereon sent her brothers-in-law, Subbu Râo and Vâsudêva Râo to fetch the goods. But Ânanda Râo and Srînivâsa Râo, his cousins, assisted by the two Mahé jemadars, ' Abd-ul-rahmân and his brother Shaikh Hasan, have been endeavouring for the last two months to get possession of the property. Last night they presented a petition to the Governor, saying that I had been given a bribe of 1,500 pagodas and was therefore allowing the property to be removed. At once, at seven o'clock yesterday evening, he sent two peons to prevent Subbu Râo and Vâsudêva Pandit from removing the goods, which were in Cuddapah Nâgêsa Râo's house; for he thought that I had arranged to get something secretly for myself and forgot that the matter had been settled and his share paid. I learnt what had happened, but was not alarmed, for I considered that when I told him the matter was already settled, he would let the goods be moved.

When I went to him at seven this morning, he was thinking that I had taken four or five pagodas for allowing goods worth perhaps 40 pagodas to be removed. However he said nothing about it, but asked, 'Why have you not yet got me the usual

presents from the Company's merchants for Christmas and my name-day? You are taking a long time.'—'The merchants,' I answered, 'tell me that trade is bad, and they are poor. I did not think a delay of a few days would matter. I have not forgotten about it.'—'No, no,' he exclaimed, 'I think the go-betweens must be keeping the presents for themselves, else there would be no such delays.'—'Nothing like that can be done,' I replied; 'but if you are pleased to ask, you will learn the truth.' I went out, and when a few moments later I returned, he told me to summon all the Company's merchants. I sent a peon for them, and then said, 'I hear you have ordered peons to prevent the goods of Vinâyaka Pandit being removed. They were given him in Cuddapah Ânanda Râo's case, which was settled in January 1744 and your share was duly paid.' On that he remembered the matter and sent for Ânanda Râo and Srînivâsa Râo. They admitted that the case had already been settled, but Ânanda Râo asserted that the woman had secretly brought 25 seers of gold from Cuddapah; and Srînivâsa Râo said that as a relative he had a right to share; but that her grandson had brought letters to me from Sampâti Râo and Muhammad Tavakkal, and I was helping to remove the property for 1,500 pagodas. 'Then,' the Governor said, 'it must be in the list of the property signed by the choultry writers; have that account brought.' It was brought by the Court attendant, Muruga Pillai, and the Governor,

having read the record, perceived that the charge against me was false and rebuked Ânanda Râo. 'Why,' he asked, 'do you now say this woman had 25 seers of gold when you agreed to what she swore, that she had only a house and furniture at Cuddapah worth 200 pagodas?'—Ânanda Râo answered that he had only come to know of it recently; but the Governor in great anger sent him away. Then he summoned Srînivâsa Râo and asked what right he had to share in the property. He answered, 'Vinâyaka Pandit, having no son, adopted his daughter's son; and so I, being a relative by the father's side, am entitled to share.' On this the Governor ordered that four chief men of the caste should be appointed to decide the case.

I said briefly to the Governor, 'About two hundred cases of this sort have been settled, and divisions made, in my time. If we now re-open a case, it will not look well, and many others will demand a new division. However what you think best must be done.' The Governor understood what I meant, and meaning to pacify me, said, 'Ranga Pillai, come here. Charges are often made against you, even in my own house. I wish this case to be settled by arbitrators in order to stop such complaints. You need not be anxious.'

Lakshmana Nâyakkan,[1] Râmachandra Pandit, the son of Mêlugiri Pandit, Vâsudêva Pandit and

[1] Grant Duff says that Brâhmans who became shroffs or sowcars took the title of Nâyak. See Duff's *History of the Marathas*, ed. 1912, ii, 8.

Sankara Ayyan were named arbitrators. The Governor then sent for the merchants, and, returning the two rings which had been presented to him for Christmas and for his name-day, told them he would rather have their value in pagodas. He then sat down to dinner. The merchants went home. I did the same, and after my meal I lay down. At three o'clock the Governor sent for the four arbitrators and told them to hear the case on the verandah of Râmakrishna Chetti's house. On hearing this I went to my nut-godown. At half-past four the Governor went for a drive. Madame sent for the arbitrators, and asked them if they were going to give Srînivâsa Râo a share. They answered that they would tell her after they had heard the case. She said he ought to receive a share, and that I was his enemy. They then went to Râmakrishna Chetti's house and began their sitting. The Governor returned at six. As Madame could not summon the arbitrators to her, she sent Varlâm with frequent messages, and even spoke to the Governor about it. He replied, 'Ânanda Râo takes opium and ganja; he drinks; he is always with dancing-girls. If he were an honest man, he would not waste his money and go about as he does. It is no use speaking about the matter.' Mortified at this, Madame told Varlâm that the Governor had changed his mind; that I had become her rival; and that it was an extraordinary thing that the Governor cared more for me than for his own wife. She also said he had called Ânanda Râo

an opium-eater, a swiller of drink, and so on. Varlâm told Wandiwash Tiruvêngadam and he repeated it to me. I already knew the Governor's opinion, for I had heard him rebuke Ânanda Râo this afternoon as an opium-eater and a loose fellow.

The four arbitrators decided that as Vinâyaka Pandit had adopted a son, and as the latter had performed the funeral ceremonies, he was the sole heir. They wrote out their decision and then began to dispute about who was to sign first. They all went to the Governor's at half-past eight. He was playing cards, so they sat down in writer Ranga Pillai's office. They waited till the Governor had had his supper at nine, and then Lakshmana Nâyakkan went to him and began to speak to him. 'Go away, go away,' he said, 'I have done enough business to-day.' However Lakshmana Nâyakkan signed the paper, the others signed after him, and the Governor, having taken the paper, sent them away and went to bed. They went home at ten and I also. The two jemadars, 'Abd-ul-rahmân and Shaikh Hasan, and also Vellore Gôvinda Râo, waited at Madame's until eight. But as the arbitrators decided against Srînivâsa Râo, as Ânanda Râo was put to shame this afternoon, and as Madame's efforts for the last month, as well as theirs, all proved useless, they came away crestfallen. Madame's efforts failed because God is just, else they must have injured me deeply. God protects me because I never plot harm to other people; but they who dig pits will themselves fall into them.

Saturday, November 25. [1]—Some two months and a half ago, one of Malayappan's head-peons with five or six others caught Muttayya Mudali, Sadayappa Mudali's brother-in-law, gambling in his house with four other people—his half-brother, Kandappan, a sweetmeat-seller,—Vaithi the peon, brother-in-law of Kudaikkâra Nainiyappa Mudali,—his rascally son Muttayyan—and Varadappan the peon. They bound the sweetmeat-seller, and took from him a couple of gold rings worth a pagoda, a thumb-ring set with two rubies worth 3 pagodas, and 19 rupees in money. These they brought to me at two o'clock in the night. At the same time Muttayyan sent me a message, to say that he had done foolishly, that if it were made known those who dealt with him would mistrust him, and that he would be ruined. I considered that he would be ruined if anything further appeared against him, for he was already a suspicious character; and not wishing to be the cause of that, I told the peons to release him and his friends, to take the 19 rupees to the church to be distributed among the Christian beggars, and to keep the rings for themselves. That was what then happened.

Madame Dupleix learnt of this through Varlâm and that rascal Muttu. She sent for the five men, and questioned them. They said it was all true. Then she asked them what they had contributed to

[1] 13th Kârttigai, Prabhava.

the marriage in my house. They said they had given nothing. She said very angrily that I was only of the shepherd caste, that I was such and such a sort of fellow, and that she would have me beaten or killed. 'He plunders the whole town,' she said, 'in order to get bribes for my husband, and enjoys almost the whole power of the Governor.' She said Malayappan should be tied up, whipped, and driven out of the town. Telling them that they need fear nothing, and that she would protect them, she sent them away. She also said that the Second was a fool, if he could not see through what I said, but that perhaps he might listen to her since she was the Governor's wife.

So she sent for the Second and said to him, 'You are our father and our judge. Ânanda Ranga Pillai does evil but keeps my husband's favour by giving him a share of his gains. In almost all things he is Governor. Should you not warn my husband? Ranga Pillai is now sending away his goods and watching for an opportunity of escape.' She then related the business about Malayappan's peons and the gamblers, and asked him to have Malayappan tied to the Court whipping-post, flogged, and driven out of town with his ears cropped. She begged him in the humblest way to grant her request, saying it was by me that her husband was earning an ill-name, and that something should be done. Her words were full of deceit.

The Second replied, 'Malayappan is in command of three hundred men. I cannot beat him, or imprison him, or cut his ears off. I will however make inquiries and order that nothing of the sort be done again. Can you not tell your husband? How can I approach him in such a matter?'—'I have often spoken to him,' she said; 'but he will not listen to me because of the bribes he receives. That is why I have come to you.'—'You are his wife,' the Second answered; 'if you cannot tell him, how should I?'

I do not know what else happened, and the above was told me by Murugayyan who heard it from M. Delarche, otherwise I should not have heard even so much. Madame also said that all the peons were guided only by my orders and that was how I managed. If I were to write all she said it would fill two hundred pages; but that was how she tried to turn the Second against me. She then sent for Lakshmana Nâyakkan, and asked him if I had not acted unjustly and ordered him not to give Srînivâsa Râo a share of the property that was in dispute. He answered vaguely. So she tries to ruin me. If I am unfaithful to my master, God will certainly punish me; but if I am upright, he will punish those who accuse me falsely—with such thoughts as these I comfort myself, come what may.

As I was coming back from the Governor's this evening, I met M. Desfresnes[1], who told me that

[1] From a later reference, he seems to have been employed in the Custom House. See below under date December 12.

Madame had sent for the Second to M. d'Auteuil's house, in order to prejudice him against me. 'You should be careful,' he said, 'and report the matter to M. Dupleix; I only say this because I am your friend.' I will tell the Governor about it as soon as an opportunity arises.

Sunday, November 26.[1]—This morning the Governor went to church and afterwards I went to his house. I had sent Muruga Pillai to ask M. Delarche to speak to M. Legou. He did so yesterday morning. M. Legou told M. Delarche that Madame had spoken to him and that he had refused to do what she asked. M. Delarche answered, 'When a woman is jealous and tells lies in order to get a man's head cut off, do you treat her seriously? It is unjust. You should tell her that you would have to mention her name to the Governor if he asked you where you got your information. That would stop her coming to you.'—The Second said, 'That is true. If I don't do so, I shall have complaints against Rangappan all day long. Why should a woman interfere in these matters?' M. Delarche advised him to tell me that I had better not dispose of cases without his knowledge, and that I had better be careful as Madame had a grudge against me; and the Second said he would do so.

M. Delarche then sent Muruga Pillai to tell me that the next time I went to the Fort the Second wished to speak to me. Muruga Pillai said that

[1] 14th Kârttigai, Prabhava.

M. Delarche added, 'If Rangappan would come to me now and then, perhaps I could be of service to him. Tell him he need not be afraid, for the Council have just written to France, saying that he is the cleverest man in Pondichery, that he is respected by the Muhammadans, by the people of the Carnatic, of Mysore, of Trichinopoly, and of Tanjore, that he comes of a good family and is wise enough to go as ambassador to princes; that they have therefore chosen him as Chief Dubâsh, since Kanakarâya Mudali's younger brother is no better than a fool[1]; this has been signed by the Governor and Council, and will be carried to Mascareigne by the *Princesse Marie* to be sent on to France by some other ship. Besides this, Rangappan has the full favour of the Governor, so tell him to keep up a good heart.' I was filled with joy to hear this, and sent Muruga Pillai to tell M. Delarche that I would come to him as desired.

Monday, November 27.[2]—When I was at the Governor's this morning [M. Barthélemy][3] who is going to Madras as Chief and M. Moreau[4] who is

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[1] What the Council actually wrote was :—' Nous n'avons pas encore nommé au poste de Courtier; Rangapoulé en fait les fonctions; et suivant nous c'est le seul que nous connaisons dans cette colonie en état de les remplir; Lazare, frère du deffunt Pedre Modeliar et son hèritier, est un imbécile, méprisé des gens du pays et hors d'etat en vérité de possèder un emploi aussi important.' *Cons. Sup. à la Compagnie, November 30, 1747.* (*P.R.*—No. 7.) The report in the text is less exaggerated than might have been supposed.

[2] 15th Kârttigai, Prabhava.

[3] Blank in the original.

[4] Moreau had previously served at Mahé, and Surat. He arrived on the Coromandel Coast with Leyrit in the previous May. Dupleix characterised him as ' atrabiliaire et fripon'. Cultru, p. 49.

going as Second, came to take leave. Malaikkolundu Mudali the leper, who is Tambichâ Mudali's son-in-law and husband of Kanakarâya Mudali's wife's sister, was introduced as the man who is to be chief dubâsh there. That vagabond Nallatambi, who used to live by picking up half-smoked cheroots, and who washed the dishes at the Second's house, is to be Poligar[1]; and his fellow, Savari, who was once a dog-boy, is to be chief of the peons. Kulandaiyappan has been named interpreter at the Choultry.[2] The latter is Varlâm's elder brother and Malaikkolundu Mudali's son. All these have been ordered to go with M. Barthélemy. He and M. Moreau took leave and then set out with their dubâshes and poligars.

These people have been appointed partly because Nallatambi gave Madame Dupleix 1,500 rupees, and because she has ulterior motives. She believes the former poligars at Madras have grown rich by plunder and expects to grow rich herself by appointing her own people. She thinks that she will be able to do whatever she pleases at Madras, as M. Barthélemy is not so clever as M. Dulaurens, and that M. Dupleix, who got nothing when M. Dulaurens was there, will be able to make it up now that M. Barthélemy is chief and it will be easy to plunder the town. Thus hoping to get money out of it, she has persuaded her husband to make such appointments.

[1] *i.e.*, Head of the Police. [2] See p. 37 *supra*.

I have heard and I have read in books also, extraordinary accounts of the cunningness of women. But Madame Dupleix surpasses them all a thousand times. The Europeans, both men and women, and Hindus and Muhammadans alike, all curse her as a pupil of the Devil who will ruin the town. M. Dupleix sometimes remembers what she is, but often he forgets. So affairs are carried on at a venture, not according to wise management.

At half-past ten the Second visited the Governor; and when he had gone, the latter, calling me into the hall, said, 'Have you heard about the accusations against you? Your enemies say you are moving your goods away to your uncle's house and that you yourself are only awaiting an opportunity of deserting us. They say that you and Muttayappan are to share the money made by robbery, deceit and theft at Madras, and that is why you wish to leave.'—I replied, 'Sir, consider this. They bring false charges against me in order to make you suspect my conduct and to drive me from your favour. They tried before, but failed. They have done this only to involve me in trouble. If only your honour will be pleased to hear me for a quarter of an hour, you will see who is guilty—I or my accusers—and whence these stories spring.'—'I know where they come from,' he answered; 'they are childish, and you need not worry over them. Ten thousand such charges cannot injure you, so long as you serve the Company diligently with all your heart.'—

'But, sir,' I exclaimed, 'let not the matter be so dismissed. If you will be pleased to hear me, in two words—' But he cut me short. 'It's a childish matter,' he said. 'I know all about it. You may go.' And he went into his private room. I feared he would grow angry if I said more, and so I thought it best to wait till later. I had meant to tell him that his wife was the cause of all this; that because he had treated me with great favour, my name was spread abroad to Mysore, Aurangabad, and even Delhi; that even one like the Nawâb of Arcot did not pronounce it lightly and that Nizâm-ul-mulk himself regarded me with respect; that all this was because I was his slave; and that if Madame Dupleix was angry and slighted me, it would reflect upon him and other people would cease to respect me or pay heed to my words. That was what I had meant to say, but as the very words were in my mouth, the Governor said, 'I know all about it. Am I Dumas?' And so he left me. I must therefore speak about this another time.

But how malicious must she be to invent such lying stories! She tells all she meets, Europeans, men and women, that I have bewitched her husband and closed his eyes, that I plunder the town and bribe him, that he no longer looks after business but leaves all to me, that I have become Governor instead of M. Dupleix, and that she has never seen a man so fond of any one not his wife. Such are her accusations. God alone must look to this; there is no other help.

Tuesday, November 28.[1]—When I went to the Governor's this morning, he asked what news there was. I told him that three or four hundred bullock-loads of paddy were coming in daily, and that the price was steadily falling; that one could get five measures and a half more of Manakattai,[2] five more of Kâr,[3] and four and a half more of Sambâ[4] than before; and that the prices[5] would be lower still in ten days, for the Kâr harvest had been good. He said that it was too early to fix the price. I agreed that if it was fixed, less might be brought in, and that it would fix itself. I then told him that the only news from Fort St. David was that Mr. Griffin, the Commander, had been ashore for a day, and that his three ships were cruising off our roads; also that they were finding work for the poor people in fixing and moving guns on the walls of the Fort and town.

As it was then noon, I came home. At about six o'clock I went to M. Delarche. We spoke of Madame Dupleix' false and unreasonable charges against me, and he said that he had heard from Europeans that whenever she meets any of them, she begins at once to tell them that I plunder the town and bribe her husband with my spoils, and that I have so blinded him that I am practically master of

[1] 16th Kârttigai, Prabhava.

[2] A coarse variety of rice harvested in October.

[3] A kind of rice harvested in October.

[4] Fine rice, harvested in January and February.

[5] Prices of food-grains are still quoted in so many measures for the rupee. As prices fall, the number of measures increase. Ranga Pillai probably refers to the number of measures sold per pagoda.

the place. I told him I thought it would be wrong to tell all the groundless charges she had made against me, and mentioned only two or three which were well-known. When I took leave, I asked him to tell M. Legou not to listen to Madame's false reports. He gave me a two-edged dagger, with many compliments, and said, 'If you had seen the Council's despatch to the Company about your appointment as Chief Dubâsh, you would understand your position,' and thereon he read a copy of it to me. I thanked him and came home at nine o'clock.

Wednesday, November 29.[1]—The Governor sent for me this morning and I went to him at half-past seven. He got up and took me into his room. He said to me, 'You know that from the time M. Dulaurens went to Madras, he constantly disobeyed my orders, and that his fraud in the matter of the cotton sale was brought before Council[2]. He has

[1] 17th Kârttigai, Prabhava.

[2] By a resolution of the next day Dulaurens and Gosse were excluded from the Council and Panon was suspended, for this cotton business. The charge was that, although 22 pagodas (at 345 rupees per hundred) was offered per bahar at the outcry, the cotton was sold privately to one Bâlu Chetti for 22 pagodas (at 320 rupees per hundred) per bahar. In other words they sold the cotton at 70·4 rupees the bahar instead of 75·9. Dulaurens, etc., declared absolutely that no more than 20 pagodas was offered at the outcry, but admitted that after the sale Bâlu Chetti had allowed them to take a share in the bargain. *Cons. Sup. à la Compagnie*, November 30 and December 24, 1747; also Dulaurens, etc. *au Cons. Sup.* November 26, 1747. (*P.R.—Nos. 7* and *16*). If the accused were not guilty, they were extraordinarily imprudent; but Dupleix' efforts to make matters appear worse are very characteristic. According to La Bourdonnais, Dulaurens had had a dispute with Dupleix over the charges the latter wished to bring against La Bourdonnais. *Mémoire pour La Bourdonnais, Pièces Justificatives*, No. ccxxx.

been recalled for it and M. Barthélemy sent instead. Now as he has been dismissed for selling cotton at so low a rate as 22 pagodas, I must report to the Council that it has been sold better. I want you to take the 700 bales—about 500 candies—and induce the Company's merchants to buy them at 26 pagodas. I will be responsible for any loss that may result; but if it were known that I was responsible, the Council might think that I, not minding a loss of a thousand or two, had done so out of enmity to M. Dulaurens, and it would seem likely; so we must make it appear that the Company's merchants have come and bought it of their own accord, and I shall write and tell the Council[1] so. I will give the merchants all possible help, and if they need it I will even give them 9 per cent. commission afterwards. They won't trust to my promise and sign the contract. If I wished to, I could put all sorts of pressure on them; but I don't like that. I do not want to see them put to any loss—on the contrary I will always relieve them. They bought some goods eight months ago, and must pay the whole price if they are asked to. But I will be lenient. They may pay five or six thousand pagodas a month, to cover the expenses at Madras, till the debt is cleared; that will take a long time and meanwhile they can be getting their money in and selling their goods, not only without loss, but with their proper interest and

[1] *i.e.*, the Madras Council? *Cf.* p. 238 *infra*.

profit. I do not think any one has ever treated them so favourably.'

I answered, 'Sir, it is all true. Their business prospers by your favour, and their interests are made the same as yours. No one has ever treated them so kindly. They had indeed sold off their goods resolving to act together no more but now they have agreed to enter into a new contract as you desired. They deserve your favour and are grateful for it. They have spoken to me for close on an hour about your justice, your protection of the people and removal of the land tax.'[1]

He then told me to repeat to the merchants what he had said. I suggested that he might summon them before him, and when he had broken the matter to them, I might relate the rest. He agreed, so I sent peons to call them all to the Governor's. Before they had come, he called me and told me to get a bill for 10,000 rupees, saying the money should be paid at the Fort. I sent for Guntûr Bâlu Chetti and got a bill on Gundu Râmânujalu Chetti of Madras, in M. Barthélemy's favour at eight day's sight. I took it to the Governor, but he told me to keep it till the morning after Council, when a letter would be written to Madras.

Meanwhile the merchants had come and I presented them to the Governor. He told me to explain to them all about M. Dulaurens' misconduct and

[1] I have found no reference to this; but the Délibérations du Conseil Supérieur are missing at Pondichery for this period.

dismissal. So I said, 'In spite of his want of respect for the Governor, M. Dulaurens was named Governor of Madras, where he should at least have behaved honestly. But his wickedness increased; he did as he pleased and even began to rob, as though he were the lord of the place. When he was ordered to sell cotton at public outcry, he reported that he had sold 700 bales, weighing about 500 candies to Guntûr Bâlu Chetti at 22 pagodas, meaning to keep the cotton for himself. This was brought before the Council, who found him guilty.'

When I had thus explained the matter, the Governor said, 'You may sell the cotton as if it were mine, keeping any profit there may be, and if there is a loss, I will bear it. In Council to-morrow we shall write that the cotton has been sold at 26 pagodas. Besides this, you may pay for the goods you have bought in monthly sums of five or six thousand pagodas, to meet our expenses at Madras. That is giving you long credit and is a great concession.'

The merchants answered, 'You always treat us with favour, and so we are not astonished at this.'

The Governor said, 'I am astonished, for, while I do you and every one else all the good I can, yet people call me unjust and pray God for my removal.'

The merchants answered:—'The rich English town of Madras was plundered in the war; the merchants of Madras, of Cuddalore, of Porto Novo,

and those who had taken refuge in the Moghul's country lost all their goods and had to wander about homeless. But since you, like a father, have guarded the people of this town, what other proof is needed of your valour and great-heartedness? Before the war we were afraid; but we have been preserved by you, while we have witnessed the sorrows of the people of Madras. Moreover to protect your people you were pleased to take off the grain-duties in the famine.[1] In spite of all these things, some people have spoken evil against you. They should be diligently sought, and their instigators be hanged Your glory is greater than the Moghul's and people pray that your life and glory may endure; but your detractors should be discovered and hanged, else they will invent more lies.' I interpreted all this to the Governor, and added, 'The day before yesterday I was accused falsely; if it were sought into, it would be seen whether I or my accuser were guilty; whichever is proved guilty, let him be hanged without further words. If such accusations are ignored, there will be no end to them, and I shall be unable to perform my duties. They have been inventing lies against me from morning to night, and though you pass over many I fear at last you will become angry with me. New lies are still being coined, and my difficulties are unbearable.' And I also added more words to the same effect.

[1] See p. 56 *supra*.

The Governor answered, 'I know all that. People always speak ill of one in power. We have a saying, "The cur's barking shows the true man." It's no evil, but an honour, Ranga Pillai, for these low-caste dogs to snarl at you. Remember, it is a sign of growing fame. That is what I think in my own case.'

We thus discussed matters in the presence of the Company's merchants, and then the Governor dismissed me, saying, 'God bless you; you may go.' As it was then noon, I and the merchants went to our homes. The Governor's good humour was so extraordinary that, if the merchants had not been there, I would have told him plainly that Madame was the cause of all these false charges. But I will do so another time.

Thursday, November 30.[1]—This morning after the Council had met and separated, [the Governor told me ?] that a letter had been agreed on to the Madras Council, and asked me to write to the gumastas there to weigh the cotton, saying that the Council's letter would order the cotton to be delivered to the Company's merchants. He then asked for the bill for 10,000 rupees, and when I gave it him, he gave it to M. Legou, ordering him to pay 10,075 rupees (including commission). M. Legou gave it back to me, and asked me to tell Bâlu Chetti to come to the

[1] 18th Kârttigai, Prabhava. The transcript has the 17th; but the 18th appears the correct date.

Fort for his money to-morrow morning. 'You come too,' he added, 'for I wish to speak with you.' I said I would.

The rest of my conversation with the Governor was on general subjects and not worth writing down. I then came home. This afternoon also there was nothing worthy of note.

DECEMBER 1747.

Friday, December 1.[1]—Not being able to take my early rice this morning, as it was New Moon Day, I went out at half-past six to see the Second. He at once rose and came out to the verandah[2] and sat down. I went to him there. He himself drew up a chair for me, and told me to be seated. 'Madame Dupleix is making a good many complaints against you,' he said.—'I can explain the real state of matters,' I answered, 'if you will be pleased to listen to me.'—'All right,' he said.—I then told him that Madame wanted all the suits, all the merchants' affairs, all the correspondence with the Nawâb and other people, and even all military matters to pass through her hands; that in fact she wanted no one but herself to have any authority in the town; that she also wanted the Madras news, the merchants' contracts there, the complaints about goods lost by theft, and in short all Madras affairs to be managed by herself alone; that in consequence the Madras merchants and other people were always coming and conferring with her, she got news for the Governor, she did everything and I had never interfered.

The Second observed, 'It is quite true that matters are carried on as you say.'—'Madame,'

[1] 19th Kârttigai, Prabhava.

[2] Ranga Pillai says 'the outside godown,'; I suppose the verandah is meant.

I continued, 'even wrote to M. Friell at Madras about me, so that he abused my people and wrote to the Governor about them. I don't know what Madame wrote, but the Governor sent for me and told me that she wished to manage the affair of the Madras merchants and to make arrangements for their settling here, and to have the management of Madras, that she was to do so and that I was not to interfere, and that I was to write to my people there and say so. I promised, and wrote to my people. I have had nothing more to do with it, and have procured no more news nor does he ask me for any. When the Governor tells me such and such a thing has happened at Madras, I say, "Indeed" and give no other reply. In fact for the last six months she has had the sole management of these affairs; and having such control over Madras, she now wants equal power over Pondichery. I would not mind her having it; but M. Dupleix objects; and so she nurses a grudge against me, invents lies about me and would like to ruin me. But I believe firmly that God rules the world and so she cannot succeed. Else I should not know what to expect.'

The Second answered, 'Don't lose faith in what you have just said. God will surely punish those who bear false witness. She told me that you had got back and taken into employment Vîrâ Nâyakkan—the man who ran away—so that you could employ him in stealing. But I told her that

you had had no hand in it; that it was her own doing, since she had told the Governor that the Nayinâr was a useless fellow and that the Madras affairs were in great confusion; and so there was no room to blame you. She could find no answer to that.'

I replied, 'Here is another proof of her ill-will. Five or six days ago a petition was presented, about Ânanda Râo, a Maratha Brâhman from Cuddapah, who in January 1744 was adopted by Krishnâji Pandit. The latter, it seems, had a son afterwards by his own wife; Ânanda Râo continued to live with the family till the father died, but then the widow turned him out, saying that her son was the sole heir, and came here with all her jewels, furniture and so forth. This matter had already been examined and settled, and out of this property Vinâyaka Pandit was given a share in money, jewels and furniture amounting to 4,000 pagodas. This was handed over to his wife, and the sentence is in the Tabellion's [1] hand signed by M. Dupleix. A copy was given to the suitors and the original was kept in the Choultry. About half this sum was removed, by two or three hundred rupees at a time; and when they came to remove the remainder, about 2,000 pagodas,' Abd-ul-rahmân, the captain of sepoys, declared that the property was really worth thirty or forty thousand

[1] *i.e.*, the Registrar of the Choultry Court.

pagodas, and that I was allowing it to be removed by reason of letters from Sampâti Rao and Muhammad Tavakkal and a bribe of 1,500 pagodas. Ânanda Râo the adopted son, whose claim had been settled and who had received his share of the Cuddapah goods, also complained that there were twenty-five seers of gold, which I had been bribed not to allow him to share. So a petition was prepared, accusing me, among other things, of acting as if I were the Governor. The next day M. Dupleix inquired into the matter. He found that it was all false, and so grew very angry and put them to shame. Recently too Bangâru the dancing-girl came here from Madras.[1] Her complaints were written out and Madame was going to support her case but asked for a present of three or four hundred pagodas. The dancing-girl however asked, "What have you done for me, ?" and went proclaiming the matter through the streets so that

[1] In the previous June she took the arrack-farm at Madras for six months for 200 pagodas. *Dulaurens etc. au Cons. Sup.* June 3, 1747, (*P.R.— No. 16*). She is probably identical with the woman of the same name mentioned in the *Country Correspondence*, 1749, pp. 49–50, as owning a house in St. Thomé and bonds for 60,000 Rupees. Further light is thrown on this episode by the papers of a case (*Troutback vs Perumâl Mudali*) heard before the Mayor's Court at Madras in 1756. Bangâru is there spoken of as 'a famous Moor's dancing woman.' She must have been about 28 in 1747; and her arrack-business would appear to have afforded her a means of employing the handsome competence which she had earned professionally. The object of her visit to Pondichery was the recovery of a quantity of Batavia arrack which the French had seized. This she failed to obtain, but she says that Dupleix promised to pay for it on the arrival of the French shipping. Neither she nor the other deponents allude to Madame Dupleix.

everybody knew all about it. Madame thought I had persuaded the dancing-girl not to give her any present, and tried to prevent my seeing her. Beside this, I issue permits for letters under the Governor's orders, and once my clerk wrote on the permit "Madame's letter may go." But she said, "Don't you put *Mahârâja Râja Srî* before the Governor's name? Why don't you do the same for me?" So she had the clerk before her and given six or seven stripes, and she said she would do the same to *that Idayan*[1] and that he was to tell me so. But if she speaks thus before palankin-boys, peons, chobdars, and a crowd of others, how can the towns-people be expected to obey me and what business can I transact? She spends all her time like that. Although I show her all due respect, since she is the Governor's wife, that is how she treats me. I did not go at once and tell the Governor, thinking that he might get angry, that it was not worth while to carry the matter so far, and that she would understand why I was silent. But she fancies it is due, not to respect, but to fear, and so she continues inventing false stories about me. There is another recent matter. Two or three months ago some people who were found gambling at night were brought to me. One of them, a merchant who owes money and has considerable transactions, implored me not to make

[1] Ranga Pillai belonged to the Idayan or Shepherd caste.

the matter public lest his honesty and credit should be called in question. I took pity on him and ordered the peons to let him go. Malayappan's people brought me what they had seized from the gamblers—nineteen rupees, two gold rings worth about a pagoda and a ring set with rubies worth about four pagodas. I told them to keep the rings for themselves and to have the nineteen rupees given away to the Christian beggars. That has been the custom for the last fifty years. Ordinary peons, when they catch gamblers, beat them, if they are poor people, and keep what they can find for themselves. But Malayappan's people never do anything without my knowledge. I had the rings given to them for they guard the town at night; the nineteen rupees were given away to the beggars; and I let the merchant go so as not to ruin him.'

The Second then remarked, 'If you had reported it to me or the Governor, there would have been no room for any one to talk.'—'It was no crime, and so I did not report it,' I answered.—'As for Madame's accusations,' he continued, 'I will stop her talking. There is no harm done yet. In spite of all her ill-will, no one can touch you so long as you do your duty by the Company. I have already heard all the accusations she makes; and you need fear nothing. You seem to be afraid that people will think the less of you because of what she says. That may be. But she publicly tells all the

Europeans that your bribes make the Governor see just what you please, and so you need fear nothing.'

Saturday, December 2.[1]—This morning I interpreted to the Governor a letter received from Arcot. It says, 'The Maratha Chief Sadâsiva Râo, Simanâji Râo's son, is marching against Nâsîr Jang with 60,000 horse; when Nawâb Âsaf Jâh heard of it, he wrote to his son, "The Sâhu Râjâ is sending Sadâsiva Râo against you. We have issued orders from the Kandanûr plains to the Subahdars of these parts to assist Nizâm-ud-daulah[2] with their forces. You must join your troops to theirs, and, remaining in the plains, keep the Marathas from advancing further." When this news reached Nâsîr Jang's camp, runners were despatched to Arcot with Nizâm-ul-mulk's and Nâsîr Jang's sanads. Sampâti Râo at once forwarded them to Nawâb Anwar-ud-dîn at Trichinopoly, with a letter of his own, requesting the Nawâb to return at once to Arcot as the Marathas were causing great troubles. Nâsîr Jang's hundred horse, who were sent to demand the arrears, are (all but one) to be sent back; they have received their batta and are on the march. Hirâsat Khân's son is about to start for Pondichery for the marriage. The wheat that has been purchased will be sent shortly.'

The Governor said, 'The Marathas are moving rapidly, it seems. The price of paddy must be put

[1] 20th Kârttigai, Prabhava. [2] A title bestowed on Nâsîr Jang.

up—Manakattai to six measures[1]; Kâr to five, and Sambâ to four and a half.' I said that the price would rise in ten days without our doing anything, but he would not listen to me, and so I told Muruga Pillai to carry out the order. I told him we would raise the matter again later. Afterwards the Governor ordered me to buy 400 garse of paddy at whatever rates I could; he told me to buy it, without waiting for further orders, at the lowest market price. I said I would do so. He then sent for Bâpu Râo of the Mint, and gave him the chain which was given at the feast and demanded a thousand rupees for it. As the money had been already paid to me, I said I would pay it, and sent Bâpu away. That is all the news.

Sunday, December 3.[2]—This morning, as it was the feast of St. Francis Xavier, [3] the Governor went to church, and when afterwards I went to his house, I found them making merry with music and dancing. Muruga Pillai came to report the choultry news.[4] The Governor called me by name and, in the presence of Vâsudêva Pandit and Appu Mudali, said, 'As you are the Company's Dubâsh, I advise you to give up dealing in paddy, so that you may keep the

[1] *i.e.*, per fanam?

[2] 21st Kârttigai, Prabhava.

[3] Ranga Pillai says 'Chinnappanshenshômpandigai.' December 3 is the feast of St. Francis Xavier, who is called in Tamil 'Savariyappar.' Either Ranga Pillai or the transcriber has made a mistake over the name.

[4] *i.e.*, an account of the grain, etc., passed through the Choultry as Land Custom House.

people quiet and escape opposition.[1] Then you need fear nothing and nobody—remember this.' I assured him I would not purchase more than the 10 garse I needed for household use. The Governor said if I did so, God would bless me. I answered that I never had dealt in grain and that I would not begin now. So the conversation ended. Later on, Muruga Pillai, Vâsudêva Pandit and Appu Mudali all agreed that the Governor's speaking so to me was a sign of his great favour. There is nothing else worth writing.

Monday, December 4.[2]—When I went to the Governor's this morning, he was writing letters with M. Paradis. I reported what news there was and then went to my nut-godown, whence I came home at noon.

Taqî Sâhib's wife, and 'Alî Naqî Sâhib, his son, arrived with ten horsemen, seventy or eighty peons, three camels, an elephant, and twenty cows and bullocks, to attend the marriage of Chandâ Sâhib's daughter. The Governor told me to write to Taqî Sâhib and Muhammad 'Alî Khân to send their paddy here to be stored during the threatened Maratha invasion, and to say that we would buy it

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[1] When the Chief Dubâsh dealt in grain, there was much room for the abuse of his power and influence; it may also be observed that the employés of the French Company, like their English fellows, dealt largely in food-grains. For example, Paradis imported paddy from Kârikâl on which he made 2,000 pagodas in 1746–47. *Le Riche to Paradis*, November 28, 1747. (*P.R.—No.* 83). This may have furnished an additional reason for the Chief Dubâsh's being desired not to enter the trade.

[2] 22nd Kârttigai, Prabhava.

at the present market price if they chose. I wrote accordingly that their paddy would be safe here, and that I was writing out of friendship, without in any way showing that we needed paddy.

Tuesday, December 5.[1]—This morning I went to the Governor's. The only news is that Vâsudêva Pandit reported that tobacco was being sold at Arumpâtai Pillai's Choultry and was smuggled in in great quantities by the soldiers and officers.[2] The Governor said that that had been complained of for the last six months; he ordered Parasurâma Pillai to be sent for and told not to sell tobacco there.

Wednesday, December 6.[3]—This morning I went to the Fort and saw M. Cornet. He gave me 2,020 rupees, for what has been advanced to M. Lucas[4] at Lâlâpêttai under the Governor's orders, 960 rupees having been already paid in return for 300 pagodas. I then went and reported to the Governor that bullock-loads of paddy were arriving at the Choultry, and that the three English ships, which were sighted yesterday off Âchikkâdu beyond Kûnimêdu, were sailing this way. Jemadar Shaikh Hasan asked for leave of absence for his marriage with Muhammad Kamâl's daughter, but as the Governor refused, I told him we would ask again

[1] 23rd Kârttigai, Prabhava.

[2] Tobacco formed with betel a profitable monopoly which was farmed out, both in the English and French Settlements. It was sold, in Madras at all events, about twice as dear as outside.

[3] 24th Kârttigai, Prabhava.

[4] M. Lucas seems to have been sent up country to buy wheat.

another time; and after sending him away I came home at noon.

At six o'clock the Governor sent for me, and told me to get four Brâhmans to take a letter to Mahé and to send ten musketeers with them as far as Ulundûr, returning when the letter-carriers had passed that place. I said I would, and got the people ready. I think Europe letters must be going by them—no doubt it is so.

Thursday, December 7.[1]—When I was at the Governor's this morning, the people returned who were sent six or seven days ago to escort the Brâhmans with the Mahé letters. They had been ordered to seize the persons who intercepted our last letters, if they could meet with them. They had escorted the pattamars to the Âttûr bounds, and on their return near Âvali Salem they had met a Brâhman with an English letter which they had seized and brought to the Governor. He took it and asked why they had not brought the man in as well; but nevertheless told me to give them twenty rupees. I got the sum from Parasurâma Pillai and gave it them. It was then noon and I came home.

At four o'clock the Governor gave me the letters for Mahé, and he said they were to go by two Brâhmans with twenty peons. Accordingly these people were sent off with their batta.

[1] 25th Kârttigai, Prabhava. In the transcript the date is given as the 27th, evidently by mistaké.

Nâsîr Jang's troops are encamped at Chittirakandi Bâman near Basavâpandana.[1] Two runners have come thence with letters—one for the Governor and one for me—from Nâsîr Quli Khân.[2] He says, 'I have already written how the Fort St. David Vakîls have hitherto failed, in spite of all their efforts. But they have made new proposals which have been agreed on; and they are to have 1,500 horse under two Jemadars, Hafîz Bêg Khân and Zafar Y'aqûb Bêg Khân.[3] I shall endeavour to break off the agreement, by means of the brotherly affection which exists between the Governor and Mahfuz Khân, but nevertheless you should be on your guard. If you will place three or four sets of runners along the road, I shall be able to send news from time to time.'

When I had interpreted this to the Governor, he told me to write a reply to Nâsîr Quli Khân desiring him to tell Mahfuz Khân that so long as he guarded the French like an elder brother they were sure no enemies would advance against them, but that if by chance any enemies did come, they would learn what sort of men the French were. 'Moreover,' the letter was to continue, 'since you are interested in our good and ill fortune, it is my duty to tell you that in the storm of last month five or six English ships were lost and the rest were shattered by the fierce winds; our people in Europe

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[1] Possibly this is Basavapatna, about 40 miles west of Chitaldrûg.
[2] Already mentioned as Dîwân to Mahfuz Khân.
[3] *Cf. Country Correspondence*, 1748, pp. 2, etc.

have won many victories, and the English suffered as many defeats; and I have news from France that twenty ships are on their way here. I eagerly expect your return to Arcot in all prosperity.' The letter was written with further compliments, and sent off along with one from myself. The Governor directed that the messengers should be given presents; these were obtained from Parasurâma Pillai.

This afternoon 'Abd-ul-rahmân and Shaikh Hasan both came to me and asked me to get leave of absence for them from the Governor on account of Shaikh Hasan's marriage. I got the permission on condition that he would go to Mylapore for his marriage and return within twenty days. Shaikh Hasan is to marry the daughter of Muhammad Kamâl, Nawâb Anwar-ud-dîn Khân's son by a concubine.

Wandiwash Tiruvêngada Pillai came to-night and told me what he had heard from Varlâm. According to him, a letter [1] from Mutta Pillai at Madras was opened by Madame to-day. It said, 'M. Barthélemy and M. Moreau have arrived. M. Dulaurens has given over charge to M. Barthélemy and gone to St. Thomas' Mount to take the air. Malaikkolundu Mudali has become dubâsh and that rascal Nallatambi poligar. Malaikkolundu Mudali and the others will also go there.' Madame has destroyed this, but she has preserved two other letters,[2] one to Gôpâlakrishna Ayyan and the other

[1] Presumably to Ranga Pillai.
[2] Presumably from Ranga Pillai, but the passage seems obscure.

to Guruvappa Chetti. The first said, 'Get the letter to M. Dumas from M. de La Touche and send it soon. If the letters from M. Dulaurens for the Company are ready, don't send them by the runners but by a special messenger.' It was thought why should M. Dulaurens write to M. Dumas unless he had a favour to ask So this letter has been translated into French by M. Friell and he is to show it to the Governor and try to get me into trouble. The second letter, to Guruvappa Chetti, said, 'Madame is displeased with you. Every one who comes here complains of you. Why don't you come here as you were told? It will not affect me at all, but you had best look to the result.'

Now a summons was issued in the name of M. Dumas, and besides he has stood surety for the money owed by M. Arnault.[1] So I wanted to have a letter written to him about it, and wrote to Gôpâlakrishna Ayyan to send it. I have kept a copy which any one may see who pleases. A beggar does not fear thieves, and I told him [Tiruvêngada Pillai] that they may inquire into the matter as much as they like. So Madame is trying to find more false charges. But as I am innocent I am sure God will not suffer her to prevail.

Friday, December 8.[2]—When I went to the Governor's this morning he related to me the contents of the letter that our peons seized on its way

[1] See p. 256 n. 5 *infra*. [2] 26th Kârttigai, Prabhava.

from Cuddalore to Tellicherry. It was written by Mr. Griffin to the captain at Tellicherry [1] and, after mentioning the possible coming of ships from Europe, said that three ships had escaped last month's storm and that they did not know what had become of the rest; that these three were unseaworthy, and needed to be refitted, but that he was doing what he could with them and had not decided where to send them.

I observed that this was a time of bad fortune for the English and good for the French, and that matters would by Providence continue so. 'Were it not for their faint-heartedness,' I said, 'why should they live in continual alarms about their town? They fear because they know how weak they are.'

The Governor agreed. While we were speaking of other matters, I mentioned Nâsîr Quli Khân's letter about 2,000 horse [2] being ordered to go with Mutyâlu Nâyakkan but being stopped by Mahfuz Khân. I said, 'This can only mean that the English efforts have failed. Nâsîr Jang has got about a lakh of rupees from the English and may have told Mahfuz Khân to send people to Fort St. David lest the French should take it. But Mahfuz Khân, under a cloak of obedience, has contrived to stop them; and the letter was written to lay claim to your gratitude.'

[1] Probably Captain Henry Paulet of H.M.S. *Exeter*, which with the *Winchester* (Lord Thomas Bertie) had been sent to the Malabar Coast to winter.

[2] 1,500 is the number given on p. 251 *supra*. The real number was 1,000.

The Governor said, 'That may well be'; and I continued, 'But it would make no difference to the French, who are such great soldiers, whether the horse do come or whether Mahfuz Khân stops them. His defeat is a great proof of French valour. This letter was only written to lay you under an obligation.' The Governor said this was true.

While we were talking, M. Cornet came. The Governor asked whether the wheat had arrived. I said that some had been bought and was being sent by bullocks; it would soon arrive. He then said, 'You told me you could supply a hundred and fifty corge of blue cloth this January.' I said I would supply all that was ready in a fortnight. Cornet then asked whether the paintings were ready. I told him they were being done.

I then considered how I could best mention to the Governor the matter of my correspondence with M. Dumas, about which Madame must have told him yesterday. His character is well known. If a man were to go and tell him his bull had calved, he would merely say, 'All right; take it and tie it up in the shed.' I had to write to M. Dumas about my own affairs and meant ill to none, but I don't know what she will have said to poison his mind. He believes whatever he is told. So I considered that I ought to tell him the facts, so that if she has accused me I shall not suffer. I will write tomorrow what I tell the Governor and what he says.

This evening at six M. Dulaurens, formerly Governor of Madras, arrived with M. Gosse, his second, and with his wife and family, and his writer Kommana Mudali. M. Dulaurens and M. Gosse went straight to their homes, without going to the Governor's, but M. Dulaurens' son [1] went to report his father's arrival; and he obtained permission to bring in their baggage which had been stopped at the gates.

Saturday, December 9.[2]—When I went to the Governor's this morning I paid him the thousand rupees on account of the mint-merchants' Christmas presents. I then said, 'When M. Dumas went to Europe in my father's time,[3] my father gave him a power of attorney to receive the money that was owing from M. Kermain,[4] M. Arnault[5] and M. de Nyon,[6] and also entrusted to him a diamond ring and some strings of pearls, and these matters were never settled with my father. When M. Dumas came out as Governor in my time,[7] he told me that some money had been paid on account of M. Arnault and

[1] In a letter dated January 31, 1747, the Council had warmly recommended Dulaurens' sons for appointment to the Company's service. (*P.R.—No.* 7).

[2] 27th Kârttigai, Prabhava.

[3] Dumas went home early in 1723. *Registre du Cons. Souv.* i. 333.

[4] This name is conjectural. Ranga Pillai has 'Kôvên' in one place and 'Keravên' in another.

[5] An employé of the Company who seems to have returned to France in 1720. *Registre du Cons. Souv.* i. 239.

[6] An engineer, who became commandant of the troops at Pondichery and subsequently Governor of Mauritius. He is credited with having built Fort Louis, the citadel at Pondichery. *Registre du Cons. Souv.* i. 161. *Mémoires et Correspondance du Chevalier et du Général De La Farelle*, 78.

[7] Dumas succeeded Lenoir in 1735.

M. Kermain and that I had better produce the papers about the matter. I said I would, and he asked me for the papers five or six times; but as he did nothing, I did not like to press him as he was the Governor. About three years ago, after he had left India, I wrote to him about it but got no reply, and I wrote again last year. As M. de La Touche was at Madras, I wrote two or three times to my man there to get a letter from him about it, and the letter went with other Europe letters from Tranquebar. But as M. Dumas is now dead, if anything can be done, will you be pleased to help me? I have not mentioned it before because M. Dumas' attorney, M. Dulaurens,[1] has been absent, and only came back yesterday. But now is an opportunity.'—'Have you not received anything on that account?' the Governor asked. I told him that the accounts showed nothing and that I would bring all the letters for him to see. He said he would look at them. So I went and sat in the verandah, wondering whether anybody could do any good now.

In a quarter of an hour he came out of Madame's room and asked me where M. Dumas' letters were. I told him they were at home and I would bring them to-morrow. 'No,' he said, 'go and fetch them now; I should like to see them.'

I think that either Madame told him about my letter to M. Dumas when he told her gleefully that

[1] The text has 'Thêvô', but Dulaurens is certainly the person indicated.

M. Dumas owed me money, or else that he dislikes M. Dumas and M. Dulaurens so much that he will be delighted to extract money from them—which is the real reason I don't know.

I went to my godown and told Vîrarâgu to fetch the bundle containing M. Dumas' papers. I took the nine papers and showed them to the Governor. He took them and reckoned the debt up to a little over 1,300 pagodas; but no price was set on the diamond ring and the strings of pearls. He asked whether my accounts showed their value. I said no, that they were merely mentioned, without any price being shown against them. He then told me to draw up a petition stating the facts, and asking that the debt might be made good from M. Dumas' property wherever it might be found. I said I would do so and departed, thinking that, although Madame has made lying reports against me, still God has given me courage to stand and speak before the Governor; and I think this promises my future prosperity. Even though Madame should have spoken about the matter before, I don't think the Governor can suspect me now.

Half an hour afterwards M. Dulaurens and M. Gosse came to see the Governor. After they had gone he called me, and said, 'M. Dulaurens and M. Gosse tell me there was no offer for the cotton at public outcry above 20, so they wrote to me that they had an offer at 22; that I sanctioned it and the cotton was accordingly sold; that then I wrote

that the sale was annulled, and the cotton was to be restored to the Company and they say they acquiesced thinking they would be able to represent the matter later on. Now you must get me a letter saying that these men did not hold the sale properly and pretended there was no bid, so as to be able to buy the cotton for themselves. I suppose you know all about M. Dulaurens' conduct?'—'Ever since you ordered me not to interfere with Madras affairs,' I answered, 'I have had nothing to do with matters there and know nothing about it.'—'Well,' he said, 'get a letter such as I have described, signed by a merchant, and written as though he knew all about the matter.' I said I would write and see what could be done. 'No, no,' he said; 'you must make sure of getting it; you must get it somehow.' As a refusal would have angered him I promised and went out.

He called me in again, however, and said, 'Ranga Pillai, there is something else you must do for me. The Company's merchants have been allowed to pay five or six thousand pagodas a month just to meet the Madras expenses. You must see that the receipts given them for last month and this show that the money has been paid on account of the cotton, and the same must be done until it is quite paid for and then payments may be credited once more to the goods account.' I said I would see that it was done.

We then spoke of general matters not worth writing down, and when it was noon I came home.

At half-past five this evening Kandappan, the lad who writes the peons' accounts, came and told me that Madame had given Ârumuga Pandâram twenty-five stripes and severely scolded him for tale-bearing, telling him not to come near the Governor's house again and warning him that if he repeated what he had told her, he should get fifty stripes, have his ears cut off and be driven out of the town. As he was leaving the house the topass, Ignace, kicked him twice. The Pandâram did not go straight to his house, but visited first Chinnapparâya Pillai and then the Pillai at Appâvu's Choultry, both of whom were ill. He felt their pulses, prescribed medicines for them, and finally after taking betel went home.

This man was a beggar when he first came here, and, having been helped by my house-people, got a little money together. He was employed under Parasurâma Pillai. On the latter's behalf he bought about a thousand bullocks for the Company, and, as Parasurâma Pillai made a profit on them of four or five thousand rupees, he felt envious. He knew all that went on in Parasurâma Pillai's house, and that Madame hated me. I don't know what he may have told her about us without troubling whether it could be proved, but he thought the mistress would be glad to hear tales against me and that is why he carried them to her; perhaps it was on some of these that she acted. But since Parasurâma Pillai gave promises and sweet words to Varlâm and

Ignace, and since I promised Varlâm a present if he would get a beating for Ârumuga Pandâram, only a word or two was necessary.

I think the ruin of the town has been threatening ever since Madame dared to do injustice for the sake of money without her husband's knowledge. May God guard us from the storm, else we shall all be caught in this woman's cruel hands and perish untimely.

Sunday, December 10.[1]—This morning after the Governor had returned from mass, I went to his house. Many Europeans were there, but they went away after taking coffee. When he was walking up and down the verandah, I reported to him the choultry news. I then interpreted Nawâb Anwar-ud-dîn Khân's letter. It said, 'Be pleased to pay the rent due for Madras for the last two years, together with the charges of my writers there.[2] Also send some spectacles, for seeing things both at a distance and near at hand, and I will send them in your name to Nizâm-ul-mulk.'

The Governor gave me some spectacles, telling me to get some like them from M. Cornet. He told me to reply as follows:—'Although you demand two years' rent, it is not right, for only one year's is due. It is only a year and three months from

[1] 28th Kârttigai, Prabhava.

[2] What is called in the Madras records 'The Cawn Goyse annual duty'—the fees payable to the Nawâb's Kanûngo or accountant, amounting to 35 pagodas a year. Love's *Vestiges*, ii, 20.

September 21, 1746.[1] I will only pay the second year's rent in nine months' time. I will send you one year's rent now. Why should I pay more?'

So I wrote letters, one to the Nawâb in the Governor's name and one to Gulâb Singh in mine; and these were sent to Subbayyan with a promise that the spectacles should be sent soon. There is no other news worth writing.

Monday, December 11.[2]—When I was at the Governor's this morning, M. Dulaurens presented his Madras accounts. M. Lemaire was sent for and the accounts were given him to be examined. There was much loud talking. That is all there is to write.

Tuesday, December 12.[3]—This morning there was a meeting of Council; and when it was over, I reported the choultry news. The Governor then spoke of Chandâ Sâhib's wife, the marriage at her house, and other general matters.

The news from Madras is that Madurainâyakam, son of the Covelong catechist and a man who used to send us intelligence, wrote to Madame as follows:—'Kommana Mudali has carried off much plunder in a teakwood chest, five feet long and three wide. It has to be borne on two long bamboos, one fastened on each side, by twenty-two coolies. It contains many valuables. It can only

[1] The date of the surrender of Madras to La Bourdonnais.
[2] 29th Kârttigai, Prabhava.
[3] 1st Mârgali, Prabhava.

be moved with difficulty and it is to be hidden in Râjappa Mudali's house at Sadras.'

She at once reported this to the Governor, probably with some exaggeration; and secretly sent ten coolies under the head-peon Muttannan to fetch the chest carefully. She gave that rascal Muttannan three rupees, and the coolies a rupee each, out of her own pocket, and persuaded M. Dupleix to send for M. Desfresnes and direct him to have the chest brought at once into the custom-house, to open it and take a list of its contents. For fear the Second should give any orders about it, M. Legou was told not to allow the chest to be removed without the Governor's orders.

Muttannan went and met the chest on the further side of Sadras, and brought it straight here. As soon as it arrived it was carried to the custom-house. M. Desfresnes went and had it opened, and was about to make a list, but discovered it was full of dishes, chaff and rubbish. He felt ashamed of his duty, and reported the facts to the Governor. He felt ashamed also, and at once went into Madame's room, and when he came out, he looked as if he had been scolding her for her false news. But he should have known before hand that a matter managed by a woman was likely to end thus. I do not think this state of things can continue; God must have devised a way of delivering us from this evil, as we shall understand in the fulness of time.

To-day nearly three hundred houses, occupied by dubâshes, near the walls were pulled down and the ground was levelled[1]. Kumara Pillai, Vîrâ Nâyakkan and others, renters of the out-villages, came and asked for a lease of the land. I arranged for a present to the Governor of 500 rupees, and then took them to him. He saw them and granted the lease. They promised to do something for me also; we shall see what they say.

Wednesday, December 13.[2]—The Council was sitting when I went to the Governor's this morning. I could not learn exactly why they met; but as M. Cornet was called in and carried away an order, I think he must have been told to despatch the 1,009 bales which were first ordered to go to Mascareigne on the *Princesse Marie* and then were kept back.

The Governor received a letter from Muhammad 'Alî Khân, from his camp near Udaiyârpâlaiyam. He said he wished to go fishing and therefore asked for some *tangûs*.[3] As I did not know the meaning of this word, Madanânda Pandit was told to inquire of Khân Bahâdûr and other learned people. They could not find it in their dictionaries and said it was not a Persian word. When I told this to the

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[1] 'On est actuellement occupé à abattre et raser, jusqu' à la distance de 300 toises des murs de la ville, tous les arbres, buissons, maisons et chauderies qui pourraient faciliter les approches de l'ennemi.' *Cons. Sup. à la Compagnie*, November 30, 1747. (*P.R.—No. 7*).

[2] 2nd Mârgali, Prabhava.

[3] Seaweed still used by fishermen to make a gut-like line.

Governor, he said, 'If you cannot find out, write and ask Muhammad 'Alî Khân what it means.' I told him it would be better to find out its meaning here than to write and inquire. 'All right,' he said; 'do as you please.'

I then told the Governor that Murtazâ 'Alî Khân had sent him a dress of honour and a horse. He replied, 'To-morrow we are going to Olukarai, and the presents may be received the day after.' I said it should be so arranged. I also received a dress along with those for the Governor and Madame. I had to explain to 'Alî Sâhib, Avây Sâhib's son-in-law, that the dress alone was not enough for the Governor, and that he must have a horse with 500 rupees as well. He agreed and said he would write to Vellore. I told him that I had already arranged with the Governor that the horse was to be presented for form's sake only, and that it would be exchanged for the money-value afterwards.

This evening as it was Bakr-îd, I went and presented nazars of five rupees each to Khân Bahâdûr, 'Alî Naqî Sâhib, Chandâ Sâhib's son, and J'afar Sâhib (Mîr Ghulâm Husain's father). 'Alî Naqî Sâhib and Chandâ Sâhib's son took only one rupee and returned the rest; Khân Bahâdûr took the whole, but with great reluctance; and Mîr Ghulâm Husain's father fumbled at the coins and eagerly gathered them all up. Mîr A'azam, who was with J'afar Sâhib, complained of not having been told that the trees in his garden outside the walls

were to be cut down; but I pacified him with compliments. 'Alî Naqî Sâhib told me angrily that the Company's merchants were demanding ready money for their broad-cloth, and that Malayappan's peons had beaten his elephant-keeper one night four months ago. To him also I gave a soothing answer, and so came home.

Thursday, December 14.[1]—The Governor drove out to Olukarai at eight o'clock this morning and returned at six. I went out to my agrahâram at nine and came back at six. After seven o'clock a sloop sailed in near the ship that is lying in the roads. No one knew to whom she belonged, so the French Captain fired at her; on which she put out to sea again. A few shots were fired from the ship and twenty from the sea-wall of the Fort. This set the whole town in an uproar, but, when they heard that the sloop had sailed off, people soon grew quiet again.

As Madame was returning from Olukarai this evening, she called up Shaikh Ibrâhîm, who was near the Bound-hedge, and asked him if what she heard was true—that 'Abd-ul-rahmân and Shaikh Hasan (who serve under him and whom, she said, she treats as though they were her sons) were going to quit the French service. He said, 'They have complained that they are poorly paid, and have asked for rice money[2]; and they say they will go because

[1] 3rd Mârgali, Prabhava.

[2] The English were paying their Malabar sepoys 'diet money' besides their ordinary pay.

it has been refused.' She then proceeded on her way, saying she would speak to the Governor about them. Elaichiyappan who was there told me this. Who can see through her devices? She may coax him[1] into making complaints against me when she sends for him, and she probably means to do that to-morrow. Then we shall see what she does. A hundred times has she brought false charges against me; but each time she has been put to shame; and now also, I trust, God will do the like.

Friday, December 15.[2]—At six o'clock this morning news arrived that the village of Alisapâkkam had been plundered by a party of English from Fort St. David along with thirty horse, and the peons belonging to Kadayam Venkatâchala Nâyakkan and Malrâjâ. Moreover when the plunderers heard that some people had taken refuge at Singarikôyil, they pursued them and plundered that place also. They cut one man's nose off, and stabbed a Muhammadan in the shoulder for complaining of their ill deeds. They carried off Sûriya Pillai's Achin horse, killed and carried off some sheep, and set fire to some houses. Thus in all ways they caused disturbance. Four of the Company's peons there had come into Pondichery to ask M. Dulaurens for their pay.[3] The English seized the peon who had remained behind and four muskets.

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1 *i.e.*, Shaikh Ibrâhîm. 2 4th Mârgali, Prabhava.

3 Because the village of Alisapâkkam belonged to M. Dumas, for whom M. Dulaurens acted as attorney.

The peon was taken as far as Kîlalinjipattu and there released.

I had to wait a long time at the Governor's before he got up and I could report this news. He said it could not have been done by the English but must have been the work of thieves. I answered, 'Thieves do not go out in bands of three or four hundred. I think the English heard you were going to Olukarai, and, fearing lest you meant to attack Fort St. David, set peons to watch. The news of your return to Pondichery at six o'clock could not have reached the enemy's party till midnight; and on their way back they plundered Alisapâkkam and Singarikôyil. But they would never have done so without their masters' orders.' But he would not hear of it.

M. Auger came to see the Governor. He was asked why he had not sent a catamaran to find out what the sloop was that came into the roads last night. He answered that the sea was too rough and a catamaran could not have been steered. The Governor said, 'I think a catamaran had better go now, at all events, and find out what the people on board took her to be and why they fired at her.' M. Auger said it should be done. I suggested that if the sloop had been English, she would not have put into the roads at all as there was a much larger French ship lying here; that she might be a Balasore boat meaning to call here, but that on being fired at both from the Fort and from the ship,

she had sailed on to Cuddalore. The Governor agreed that it might be so.

When M. Auger had taken his leave, the Governor asked me whether Monsieur Kommana Mudali was still here. I said he was. He then told me that Varadappa Chetti had fled from Madras. I said, 'He used to be quite poor, but when during the troubles the Madras merchants abandoned the town, he stayed there and acted as their agent, buying goods and bidding at the Company's sales as though on his own account.'

The Governor then told me that he had written to the Madras Council ordering them to inform the merchants that unless they removed to Pondichery at once all their goods would be confiscated.[1] I applauded the letter. He added that Kommana Mudali's brother-in-law had run away. I replied that I knew nothing about him. He then said that the latter's brother had been arrested. 'Indeed, Sir,' I answered.

He then went to dress, and I went out and sat down. After he had dressed and taken his coffee, M. de Bury presented a letter signed by all the officers of the army who had met in the Secretary's room[2] to prepare it. He objected to parts of the letter.

[1] The decree of the Council, that all goods would be confiscated unless the owners had settled in Pondichery within six months, is dated December 12 (*P.R.—No.* 202.)

[2] This was perhaps a Council of war in connection with the refusal of the officers of the Madras garrison to recognise Moreau as Second there because he was not a member of the *Conseil Supérieur*. *Cons. Sup. à la Compagnie.* December 24, 1747 (*P.R.—No.* 7.)

He then asked me if I were not going to bring Murtazâ 'Alî Khân's presents. I said I was ready to do so whenever ordered. 'All right,' he said, 'I will go and dress.'

He also said, 'There is a Brâhman at Singarikôyil to whom the English give four pagodas a month for intelligence. His letters are carried by four Pariahs of Ariyânkuppam. As Kâsilevvai is not here, let men be set to watch the Brâhman and seize him as soon as he enters our bounds. The English are also said to be receiving letters from Bombay about matters of importance. They come either by Arcot or by Wandiwash. Post men in those directions to seize the letters, and also along the Ulundûr road.' I said that five or ten of our people would be no use against the numerous peons the English have thereabouts. 'Very well,' he said, 'let them carry country, instead of European, weapons.' I feared he would grow angry if I asked him why he gave such orders, and so took leave, saying that I would send the men. He called me back and told me I was to go with M. Paradis and M. Lemaire to fetch the presents. I told him eleven guns should be fired; he said he would give orders.

The two Councillors and I then went to my garden-house with music and dancing-girls to fetch the presents.

The presents for the Governor were:—a piece of gold brocade, a silk turban, a girdle, a piece of silk, and 500 rupees instead of the horse. The

presents for Madame were:—a piece of gold brocade, a laced upper-cloth, and a tunic. Eleven guns were fired when the presents arrived at the Governor's house; and pân supârî and rosewater were given to 'Alî Sâhib, Avây Sâhib's son-in-law and vakîl for Murtazâ 'Alî Khân. The Governor inquired after the welfare of Murtazâ 'Alî Khân; and the other said he had been charged by Murtazâ 'Alî Khân to inquire after the Governor's welfare. Then he was allowed to depart to his lodging and I had provisions for him sent there and batta for his servants. I then interpreted Murtazâ 'Alî Khân's letter of compliment and was ordered to prepare a suitable reply with thanks for the dress and the horse. I said I would do so and took leave.

All these matters—about the Brâhman spy at Singarikôyil, on four pagodas a month, who sends intelligence to Fort St. David, about the Pariahs at Ariyânkuppam who carry his letters, and about the letters received by the English from Bombay—have been reported to the Governor by Madame, who wishes to outrival me. She has had a cadjan written here as if it came from Fort St. David, made Varlâm read it to her, had it translated into French, and now has shown it to the Governor; it says that he will be bewitched. This last piece of news was told me by the Governor; the rest I learnt from Wandiwash Tiruvêngadam who had it from Varlâm. Thus she is trying her best to find grounds for false complaint against me. God will punish

the wrong-doer; but what punishment will He inflict on her?

I then sent for head-peon Muttu of Ariyânkuppam, and promised him a pair of silver bracelets weighing two seers if he could arrest the Singarikôyil Brâhman and the four Ariyânkuppam Pariahs. I also sent peons to Wandiwash, Tiruvattûr,[1] Villupuram, and Tirukkânji with a promise of 50 pagodas if they capture any of the Bombay letters.

Forty pallas of my wheat arrived to-day from Lâlâpêttai for the Company. When I reported this to the Governor, together with the arrival of an equal quantity the day before yesterday and the day before that, he told me to get some more.

When the Governor went out driving this afternoon at five, thirty or forty people from Alisapâkkam, some of whom had been plundered and others wounded, were waiting for him and prostrated themselves with disheveled hair. Sântappan, the head-peon, went to the Governor to explain what they wanted, but one of the white Arabs in the Governor's chaise was somewhat restive, as hitherto it had only been used for riding. However he got into the chaise again with his daughter,[2] and drove on to the Madras Gate, where he stopped for a time

[1] The transcript says 'Tiruvottiyûr.' That is a village to the north of Madras, a most unlikely place for the English letters to pass through. Probably a slip for 'Tiruvattûr,' a village in the Arcot Taluk of the North Arcot District.

[2] *i.e.*, Madame Dupleix' daughter—which one is not apparent. The youngest, Marie, was at this time a child of eleven.

to examine the works being carried on there. He then got in again, but the horses refused to move for more than a quarter of an hour. With the help of his whip, however, he got them to start at length, and drove on beside the ditch. But at the corner on the south of the Valudâvûr Gate, one of the horses shied into the ditch. The chaise went in also, but, instead of upsetting, all four wheels went straight into the mud. He was no more shaken than if men had been carrying him on a bed,—I think this was because of my prayers for him to God. That the wheels should have gone level into the mud without the chaise upsetting and that the horses should not have been in the least injured—as if the carriage had been borne in carefully by ten men—all this is due to his fortune, the fortune of the city and the prayers of the people. His escape proves that the town will never fall into English hands and that the French are destined to win yet greater glory in India. M. Dupleix, Governor-General Mahârâjâ, was in no wise injured. He sat as though he were being gently carried on a cot. So too his daughter escaped all hurt, save that her clothes were wet. Moreover the Governor lost from his finger an English-cut diamond ring valued at 1,500 pagodas. Some of the sepoys who were there carried the Governor and his daughter to the bank and pulled out the chaise and the horses; others ran to fetch dry clothes. Madame and her sister on hearing of the accident

hastened to meet the Governor. Soon after M. d'Auteuil came, also the Second and others who had heard what had happened. Meanwhile the Governor and his daughter changed their clothes, and the latter went on in her mother's carriage. He remained to order that a strict search should be made for the ring and posted a guard of European military and Mahé sepoys there. Then he also went home.

I went to congratulate him on his escape, and so did all the principal inhabitants. He spoke jestingly of it, and his guests took their leave at seven o'clock. I went to my nut-godown, and thence came home at nine o'clock.

The Governor has already given away 300 rupees among the Muhammadan sepoys who helped him out of the ditch and among the beggars. He has also given 100 rupees each to St. Paul's and the Capuchins' Church—500 rupees in all; and he has besides promised a reward of 100 pagodas to whoever finds the ring.

Saturday, December 16.[1]—When I went to the Governor this morning he could speak of nothing but his and his daughter's accident, and their narrow escape. Nothing else was mentioned. There is news from Fort St. David that besides the two ships that sailed recently, a ship and a sloop sailed to-day. The English are prepared for whatever may happen. There is nothing else worth writing down.

[1] 5th Mârgali, Prabhava.

Sunday, December 17.[1]—This morning, when the Governor had been to Church and taken his coffee, I went to him. He asked if I had sent men to the various places as he ordered yesterday.[2] I said I had. He said it would rain soon as the wind was high. Just then Râjô Pandit came and announced that the bride-groom, Nawâb Hirâsat Khân's son, would arrive this evening and desired that he might be received with due ceremony. The Governor asked what should be done. I answered that he should be met by two Councillors with music and dancing-girls. He then enquired what further was necessary. I said he should have fifteen guns on entering the town and fifteen more when he reached his lodging; and that if besides this he were given a guard of 100 Mahé sepoys to-morrow, and if the Governor welcomed him on behalf of Chandâ Sâhib, the magnanimity of the French would be spoken of so long as India should endure. 'There is no avail,' I said, 'in entertaining the low-born; but if you honour the Navâits[3] who once were rulers of this country but who now are fallen, the Muhammadans as far as Delhi will praise your name, and your fame will be spread through the whole land, for showing them respect greater than they would receive in their own country. Besides, should the Navâits recover the

[1] 6th Mârgali, Prabhava.

[2] It should be 'the day before yesterday.'

[3] Chandâ Sâhib and his connections were Navâits. For a long and interesting note on the meaning of the term, see Wilks' Historical Sketches, ed. 1869, i-150.

province, you will be as powerful at Arcot as you are in Pondichery, without any further trouble, once Chandâ Sâhib becomes Nawâb, as you have planned.' And with more compliments I told the Governor that Chandâ Sâhib's son would come to-morrow to invite him to the wedding.

He smiled at me, and answered, 'Very well; send for the master-gunner.' When he came, I announced him, and the Governor directed him to fire fifteen guns when they entered the gates and fifteen more when they reached their lodging; also to provide them with what tents and other things they needed. He then told M. Paradis and M. d'Auteuil to go to my house at three o'clock and accompany me to meet the party. They told me they would come rather earlier and asked me to have some tea ready. I said I would do so.

The Governor then told me to go home quickly and take my food. 'Take these gentlemen with you,' he said, 'to receive the bridegroom, and take him to Pedro's house,[1] which has been prepared for him. His baggage may be lodged in Pedro's godown next to the house on the west. Let me know as soon as you have done this.' So I took leave and came home.

On the way I met Appu Mudali taking the lost diamond-ring (which has been found) to the Governor. He was very pleased to receive it, and

[1] i.e. Kanakarâya Mudali's.

gave a hundred pagodas to the coolies who had been sifting the mud to find it.

After I had eaten, I lay down for a while. Soon after, rain set in and continued without a break till the evening. Meanwhile Râjô Pandit came and said the Governor ought to go to the Fort Gate to meet the bridegroom. I said that was out of the question. As he went on begging me to arrange the matter, I told him bluntly that the Governor would not go; that he would only do what I suggested so long as it was reasonable, and this was not reasonable; and that he would never go out in such heavy rain which hardly allowed any one to go out. 'You may go yourself and ask him if you like,' I said. He then left, and set out with four or five horsemen to meet the bridegroom.

As it was still raining, I went to the Governor's to inform him that I was about to start. The two Councillors with music came with me. Meanwhile the salute announced that the bridegroom had entered the Gates. We met them by the painters' bazaar. Hirâsat Khân's son at once descended from his palankin and embraced me. Then he got in again, and we conducted him to his lodging—Kanakarâya Mudali's house—and on his arrival another salute of fifteen guns was fired. We were all quite wet through.

He gave M. Lemaire and M. Paradis each a dress of honour worth a hundred rupees. We then went home, quite wet through, after informing the Governor of the party's arrival. There were three

elephants, two hundred horses, six palankins, eight closed palankins for women, and 1,000 soldiers, besides two hundred bullocks laden with rice, ghee, and other provisions. In the procession the kettledrums went first; then the bridegroom; then Nalla Mâna Vikrama Pândiya, Asad-ul-lah Sâhib, his brother Asad 'Alî, and his brother-in-law S'aadatmund Khân, Killedar of Kâvêripâkkam. Dishes were sent to them from Chandâ Sâhib's house.

Monday, December 18.[1]—When I went to the Governor's this morning, he asked whether any further marks of respect should be shown. I said, 'Once they were Nawâbs, and so they deserve all respect. Everywhere will you be praised if you treat them with honour; and since they were great once but now are fallen, your courtesies will seem all the greater.' And I added compliments. Thereon he ordered a guard of twenty Europeans, fifty Mahé sepoys, and ten horse with drawn swords to be stationed at the bride's house. An officer also was ordered to pitch a tent there and remain on guard. The same was ordered to be done at the bridegroom's lodging. After this we spoke of general matters not worth writing down.

I hear through Varlâm that Kommana Mudali is to be put in prison to-morrow, on Madame's complaints. We shall see if this is true.

The drummers beat as for the Governor when the bridegroom went to the bride's house and when

[1] 7th Mârgali, Prabhava.

he returned to his lodging at Pedro's—so great marks of honour were shown.

Sându Mudali's house has been assigned to S'aadat-mund Khân with Toppai's house for a kitchen, while Muttayya Pillai's house has been lent to Chandâ Sâhib's son to entertain his guests in at feasts and nautches. For the relations [ ][1].

Tuesday, December 19.[2]—While I was at the Governor's this morning, Razâ Sâhib, Chandâ Sâhib's son, came, and invited him to the marriage with many compliments. He promised to go, and then Razâ Sâhib took leave and went home. The master-gunner was then summoned, and ordered to post twenty-one guns, with some gunners, near Chandâ Sâhib's house, and he ordered that they should fire salvoes whenever asked to, and give as many displays of fireworks as possible, during the five or six days of the marriage festivities. The Governor also ordered sweetmeats to be prepared.

At eleven Varlâm came twice and spoke to him. I think he came about putting Kommana Mudali in prison. About noon as I was going to see Murtazâ 'Alî Khân's son, I heard that Kommana Mudali and Ammayappan (Dubâsh Ella Pillai's younger brother) had been arrested.

M. Barthélemy has written to the Council here saying that Malaikkolundu Mudali, the dubâsh who used to be a runner, and Nallatambi, the chief of peons who was formerly a scullion, are useless and

[1] Here is a lacuna in the MS.

[2] 8th Mârgali, Prabhava.

ought to be replaced by others. I hear that these two have been ill-treated at Madras. Tirukkâmu Pillai's son who was sent there on business by Arumpâtai Pillai, Subbayyan's son, Muttayyan, and Chella Pillai joined together and made reports against the palli, Nallatambi the Poligar, Varlâm's elder brother and Choultry dubâsh, and against Malaikkolundu Mudali the chief dubâsh. The result was that M. Moreau began to think ill of them. He scolded Nallatambi for using idle excuses when he visited the Choultry, and asked, 'Why did you imprison this man and release the other without orders? You are unfit to be poligar. No doubt you can wash dishes well, but you know nothing of your present duties.' So saying, he beat Nallatambi, giving him fifteen cuts with his rattan, and moreover kicked him twice. The same thing was done to Varlâm's brother, and he was sent away because he was quite unable to interpret. M. Moreau told M. Barthélemy that these two were incompetent, and said of the Chief Dubâsh, 'He used to be only a runner; he knows nothing of merchants' affairs; he knows nothing of their position and credit; and he has no manners. For chief dubâsh we need an honest elderly man of a respectable family, not a worthless beggar like this.' Moreover he said to Malaikkolundu Mudali, 'What do you know about business?' and also kicked him.

M. Barthélemy considered that these people, being fools, must have obtained their posts by

promising Madame a share of whatever they could get, and that they deserved to be punished and sent back to Pondichery. So he wrote to the Council here, desiring that better men should be appointed. Likewise these great men who have been kicked wrote to Madame to say that they had been beaten because of accusations brought by Muttayyan, Subbayyan's son and Chella Pillai. Madame translated it and gave it to the Governor who then wrote to M. Barthélemy, saying that the accusers should be sent to Pondichery, that the men themselves should be tried for a little longer, that they would learn their duties, and that they should be shown a little kindness. We shall see what happens when the men arrive who have been sent for.

About four o'clock this afternoon M. Dulaurens came. He asked the Governor, 'Why should my writer be imprisoned for what was done at Madras? I am responsible for that.' Moreover he asked that the man should be released. The Governor answered, 'He is also involved in the charges against you. You should not interfere in this matter.' With this curt answer he went into his room, and M. Dulaurens went away.

I believe Kommana Mudali has been imprisoned because he took the tobacco farm away from the old renter Pâpayya Pillai and gave it to Vêlu Pillai of Madras. The latter ran away, owing the Company 450 pagodas—100 pagodas advance and 350 pagodas for one month's rent. Kommana Mudali has been

imprisoned because he will not make this sum good. But we shall see what else inquiry brings to light.

To-day there was a feast at Chandâ Sâhib's house for those who are attending the marriage. Haidar 'Alî Khân and others were present. When Hirâsat Khân went and returned, the soldiers and the Mahé sepoys formed a lane and beat their drums.

At five this evening the Governor drove out. He passed by the bridegroom's lodging. At six, Hirâsat Khân sent wedding presents, with Mahé sepoys, music, elephants, horses and kettledrums, to Chandâ Sâhib's house. The presents were carried on a hundred and fifty trays. They consisted of fruit, pân supârî, sugar, sugar-candy, cloths and other things. Nawâb Hirâsat Khân watched a nautch at his lodging for an hour and a half. Haidar 'Alî Khân of Perumukkal and his younger brother are attending the marriage. They are lodged in broker Nallatambi Mudali's cloth-godown. Gôvardhana Dâs's gumasta has been lodged in the bricklayers' out-houses.

Wednesday, December 20.[1]—When I went to the Governor's to-day he questioned me about the marriage ceremonies. I explained that the Muhammadan custom is for the bridegroom first to carry to the bride's house in procession what is needed to anoint her with, and that day there is a feast at the bride's house; that the next day the bride's

[1] 9th Mârgali, Prabhava.

people do the like with the things for anointing the bridegroom; and they continue thus to exchange visits until the tâli is tied. He then asked on which day he should pay his visit; and I told him the marriage would be celebrated on Friday.

When we had spoken of Fort St. David and the weakness of the English, he asked whether the merchants had sent the money to Madras. I told him that the Mudaliars had paid Tarwâdi 19,200 rupees, had asked for a bill and would send it to-morrow.

I went to my nut-godown and sent for the Company's merchants, and asked them why the money had not already been sent to Madras, as was ordered. They said, 'Who will be responsible should there be an accident by the way?' I assured them that there was no danger, and they departed promising to send the bill to-morrow.

Hirâsat Khân's son, S'aadat-mund Khân and the rest who have come here for the marriage have no magnificence save that which the Governor has bestowed on them. The bridegroom's people all wear tunics, turbans and girdles of red; and that is the only sign by which to recognise them. This, and the deafening sound of their drums and other music by day and night, are the chief signs of the marriage. The bridegroom has sent me also a red tunic, girdle and turban. To-day Khân Bahâdûr Sâhib, 'Alî Naqî Sâhib, and Zain-ul-'aâbidin Khân (Badê Sâhib's son) with other relatives attended a

feast given in Hirâsat Khân's lodging, and left at two o'clock this afternoon. At six presents were sent to Hirâsat Khân from Chandâ Sâhib's house—turmeric, pân supârî, sweetmeats, sugar and sugar-candy. These were all borne on a hundred and fifty plates under a canopy supported by four silver poles and carried by four men, and a curtain enclosing all four sides was carried by women-servants. The soldiers were drawn up in line; drums beat; and the presents were accompanied by ten torches, two of the Governor's white flags, fifty Mahé sepoys and fifty horse, to the sound of trumpets, fiddles, drums and kettledrums. They were thus borne to the bridegroom's lodging in the day-time. As soon as he had examined the list which was given him, he gave pân supârî to Râjô Pandit who had brought the presents, and dismissed him.

Thursday, December 21.[1]—A feast was given to-day at Chandâ Sâhib's house, attended by Muhammad Asad-ul-lah Sâhib, Haidar 'Alî Khân, and other relatives. A laced cloth, a nazar of 200 rupees, sugar, sugar-candy and other things were sent by Muhammad Asad-ul-lah Sâhib to Hirâsat Khân, as a present. They were carried on trays and accompanied by music and dancing. In the evening Hirâsat Khân sent to Chandâ Sâhib's house turmeric, nuts, betel and women's cloths in a hundred and fifty trays The sepoys to-day were given two meals, and this is to be continued daily.

[1] 10th Mârgali, Prabhava. The transcript has '17th' apparently by error.

Friday, December 22.[1]—To-day Haidar 'Alî Khân visited the Governor; he presented him with five jewels and invited him to the marriage. The Fort saluted him with eleven guns.

At five this evening there were made ready for the Governor's visit 200 pikemen and Mahé sepoys, elephants with flags, horses and kettledrums, and the Governor's palankin. The procession was arranged so as to go round eastwards. A coach and six was sent to fetch Razâ Sâhib and 'Alî Naqî Sâhib to the Governor's to meet and conduct him to the marriage. Two hundred military and two hundred Mahé sepoys formed a lane from Chandâ Sâhib's house to the bridegroom's lodging at Kanakarâya Mudali's.

The Governor set out at five, with the Second, M. Guillard,[2] M. Miran, M. Lemaire, M. deBury, M. Duquesne, M. Paradis and others. There was a guard of Mahé sepoys and fifty European horse with drawn swords. They were also attended with drums, fiddles, pipes and kettledrums, and also with elephants and their standards. They moved eastwards towards the Fort; then turned south along the Church road; and so, reaching Chandâ Sâhib's house, they took their seats in the

[1] 11th Mârgali, Prabhava.

[2] He first served as a writer to Courton when Chief at Masulipatam was admitted to the Company's service by Lenoir, and had been Chief both at Masulipatam and Yânâm. He was at this time fifth Councillor *Procureur Général* and Treasurer. He married a daughter of M. Legou. Dupleix praises his industry and conduct. *Ministère des Colonies*, C [2] 15, and C[2] 83.

tent pitched near it. At once twenty-one guns were fired from near the Îswaran Temple. Madame with some other ladies in six palankins came behind and went into the women's apartments. The Governor and Councillors were given pân supârî and rose-water; and after speaking for a time about the marriage festivities, they went afoot, with 'Alî Naqî Sâhib, Razâ Sâhib and others, through the lane of troops to Nawâb Hirâsat Khân's lodging, where another salute of twenty-one guns was fired. Haidar 'Alî Khân received them at the outer gate and the Nawâb was waiting at the head of the staircase. They sat down in the upper hall and spoke of the marriage; and after the usual ceremony of pân supârî and rose-water, the Nawâb presented a dress of honour with a horse and five jewels to the Governor. The latter then took leave; he returned for a while to the tent near Chandâ Sâhib's house; and on his departure homewards a third salute was fired. The procession passed round the west of the Fort and reached the Governor's house by the Eastern gate. The Councillors went home, and the pikemen with music were sent to escort Madame back. She left at seven, and returned by the road that goes to the west of the Fort and by that which leads to the Council House. One hundred and twenty trays with sugar, sugar-candy, pân supârî, laced cloths and jewels were sent from Chandâ Sâhib's house to Hirâsat Khân. 'Alî Naqî Sâhib and Razâ Sâhib went to supper at the Nawâb's lodging at six o'clock.

Saturday, December 23.[1]—To-day S'aadat-mund Khân sent to the Nawâb's house as presents a hundred trays of sugar, sugar-candy and pân supârî and six more trays of laced red cloths. Muhammad Asad-ul-lah, Haidar 'Alî Khân, S'aadat-mund Khân, and other relatives went to a feast at Chandâ Sâhib's house. Their women also went thither at ten o'clock at night.

The Governor also sent presents consisting of a hundred and fifty trays of sugar, sugar-candy, plantains, guavas, pân supârî, cloths and bundles of sugarcane, with music and guarded by two hundred Mahé sepoys and a hundred military. Of the presents, twenty-two silver and fifty wooden trays of sweetmeats were sent to the bridegroom who gave the bearers 15 rupees. The remainder of the silver trays of sweetmeats, with the bundles of sugarcane, the cloths, ten rolls of broad-cloth, three looking-glasses, glass candelabra and other things were sent to Chandâ Sâhib's house, where the bearers were given some rupees.

Hirâsat Khân sent the Governor three shoulder-loads and fifteen dishes of food. The bearers were given 20 rupees.

At seven this evening the bridegroom sent to Chandâ Sâhib's house sixteen trays filled with laced cloths, one tray with jewels and oil in five silver vessels, and a square bathing stool with silver legs,

[1] 12th Mârgali, Prabhava.

two phials of the essence of champak and three of the essence of jessamine; together with a hundred trayfuls of sugar and sugar-candy on four camels, and ten camels loaded with sugarcane. These were escorted by military and Mahé sepoys. Seven guns were fired as they reached the house and fifteen more when they were carried into the women's quarters. There was a nautch-party till about eight at night.

Sunday, December 24.[1]—This afternoon there was a feast at Chandâ Sâhib's house, attended by Hirâsat Khân, Khân Bahâdûr, Razâ Sâhib, 'Alî Naqî Sâhib, Badê Sâhib's son, and other relatives.

An elephant with a silver howdah, and a chair with silver-plated legs, six trays with lace and twenty-six jewels, and a hundred trays of sugar, sugar-candy, pân supârî, sweetmeats and other provisions, were sent to Hirâsat Khân from Chandâ Sâhib's house.

Hirâsat Khân's procession took place at two o'clock this night. The bridegroom started from the Valudâvûr Gate, with five hundred torches; besides these, there were ten torches with seven branches, ten with five branches and ten with three; besides these, there were a hundred paper lotus-flowers, with lights within, fixed upon bamboos. Moreover there was a continuous display of fire-works on the posts set up at every twenty feet from

[1] 13th Mârgali, Prabhava.

the Valudâvûr Gate to Chandâ Sâhib's house, with fountains and wheels of fire, and coloured lights. There was also the continuous sound of pipes, drums and kettledrums mounted on elephants. The bridegroom rode on horseback from the Valudâvûr Gate, with a roundel covered with tinsel held over him, and went eastwards along Kanakarâya Mudali's Street; thence turning from the east he reached and alighted at the tent near Chandâ Sâhib's house, and was saluted with twenty-one guns, there being another equal salute when he entered the house. It was then half-past three. At three o'clock Madame arrived to witness the final ceremonies and entered the women's quarters.[1] At five o'clock when all was over, the bridegroom departed with the bride to his lodging, and a third salute of twenty-one guns was fired. Madame also departed at five o'clock.

At eight o'clock before the procession there was a nautch in the upper part of Kanakarâya Mudali's house, at which both I and Madanânda Pandit were present. When we took leave, we were presented with a dress of honour each. We accepted them and went home.

Monday, December 25.[2]—The Governor had ordered fire-works to be prepared. The Europeans made Roman candles, paper lanterns and other things, and arranged them on the south side of the

[1] For another account of Muhammadan marriage ceremonies, the reader may be referred to the *Mémoires du Colonel Le Gentil*, Paris, 1822, pp. 65, etc.

[2] 14th Mârgali Prabhava.

Governor's house. When all was ready, he sent word to the bridegroom and his friends to come and see them to-night. They answered that they could not come to-night owing to the ceremony of untying the *Kankanam*,[1] but that they would come to-morrow. The Governor grew angry at this. 'They could easily have said as much yesterday,' he exclaimed; 'everything is ready; the fuses are put in; and the master-gunner says they will be spoilt if it is put off. It shall be done to-night, whether they please to come or not.'

I went to the bridegroom's house to report this; and I had to go without my food till two o'clock, for till that time I could not induce them to come. I then told the Governor they were coming, went home to my food, and afterwards came back. About six o'clock, Nawâb Hirâsat Khân, Muhammad Asad-ul-lah Khân, Haidar 'Alî Khân, S'aadat-mund Khân, Haidar Dil Khân and his brother, Razâ Sâhib, 'Alî Naqî Sâhib, and others arrived. They were received by the Governor near the sentinels posted in front of the house. They alighted there; and the Governor taking the Nawâb's hand led him upstairs; the other principal people followed. When they had taken their seats, the fire-works were lit and the display began. It lasted for about three-quarters of an hour; the visitors gazed at it with

[1] Saffron-coloured threads were tied round the bride's left and the bridegroom's right wrist. They were untied after the completion of the marriage.

wonder and said that nothing finer had ever been seen. After a little conversation, they were dismissed with pân supârî and rose-water. This was about eight o'clock.

Tuesday, December 26.[1]—At ten this morning S'aadat-mund Khân sent the Governor a dress of honour. He also gave one to me when I went to his house.

At five o'clock the Governor and Council went with music, kettledrums, roundels, flags, pipes and a guard of pikemen, Mahé sepoys and European horse with drawn swords to Chandâ Sâhib's house to congratulate them on the performance of the marriage. When they alighted at the square tent near the house, their arrival was announced by twenty-one guns; and they watched a nautch in the tent for about three-quarters of an hour. Then the Governor was presented with a string of pearls and a pendant worth [ ], a bracelet set with emeralds worth [ ], and three dresses of honour. Razâ Sâhib then requested the Governor to pardon a soldier who is lying in the Fort prison under sentence of death for stabbing a European. The man was accordingly pardoned. The Governor then left, under a salute of twenty-one guns, and went home. A dress of honour was presented to me and another to Madanânda Pandit.

The Nawâb and his wife went to Chandâ Sâhib's house at ten o'clock to-night with torches, music

[1] 15th Mârgali, Prabhava.

and fire-works, for the ceremony of untying the *Kankanam.* There was a salute of twenty-one guns. It was nearly two o'clock before the bride and bridegroom returned, and then there was another salute.

Madame and her mother went in state, at the invitation of Chandâ Sahib's women, to their house at eight o'clock. There was a salute of twenty-one guns on her arrival. She was presented with a jamawar, a tunic and an upper cloth. She stayed nearly two hours, and on her departure another salute was fired.

At eight o'clock three brass vessels of cooked rice and ten trays of fruit were sent to Hirâsat Khân from Chandâ Sâhib's house, with music. There was a salute of fifteen guns.

Nawâb Hirâsat Khân sent me a dress of honour to-day.

Wednesday, December 27.[1]—At five o'clock the married pair went to Badê Sâhib's house and were presented with dresses of honour. About nine Hirâsat Khân and his wife went to Chandâ Sâhib's house, where they spent the night. Safdar Husain Khân's daughter with her retinue left to-day for Kalavai.[2]

Thursday, December 28.[3]—To-day, Nawâb Hirâsat Khân having sent word that he would like to

[1] 16th Mârgali, Prabhava.
[2] A village in the Tiruvallûr Taluk, Chingleput District.
[3] 17th Mârgali, Prabhava.

visit the Fort, I and M. Vincens[1] were ordered to conduct him. We accordingly went to tell the Nawâb, who presented M. Vincens with three jewels. At four o'clock Hirâsat Khân, S'aadat-mund Khân, Muhammad Asad-ul-lah Khân, Haidar Dil Khân, Haidar 'Alî Khân, and other relatives came to the Fort; we accompanied them and showed them the whole. They were astonished at the powder and shot in the godowns, and the cannon. They then went to the hospital,[2] and thence to the beach. After staying there a while, they went home at six. We took leave of them, and, having made our report to the Governor, also went home.

Friday, December 29.[3]—At three o'clock this afternoon the Governor summoned the Mahé sepoys and military, and ordered them to be ranged in order of battle, as though in a fight with the English. Accordingly the Mahé sepoys, the cavalry, and the European horse-guards were drawn up on the east side of the Fort. The Governor sent word to Hirâsat Khân, Razâ Sâhib, 'Alî Naqî Sâhib, and other Muhammadans; and himself went to the Fort at four o'clock. Razâ Sâhib and 'Alî Naqî Sâhib came first and were made to sit near the Governor on the Fort wall. Hirâsat Khân, Muhammad Asad-ul-lah, S'aadat-mund Khân, Haidar 'Alî Khân, and other relatives arrived at five. When

[1] A son of Madame Dupleix, but I cannot determine which one.
[2] 'Une masse informe de bâtiments.' Cultru, p. 182.
[3] 18th Mârgali, Prabhava.

they approached the Fort Gate the drums beat and the guard turned out. Hirâsat Khân, Muhammad Asad-ul-lah and S'aadat-mund Khân entered the Fort in their palankins. They were met by M. Miran and M. Paradis who led them to the Governor. As soon as they had taken their seats, the troops which were drawn up, began the sham fight. They fired volleys of blank cartridge. Also the four guns which can fire twenty-one shots a minute [1] were placed one on each side; and five or six great guns were fired from the ramparts. The guests were almost suffocated by the smoke and deafened by the noise; and they wondered at what was done. Finally the two mortars, mounted one on the southern and the other on the northern rampart, were fired. It was then past six o'clock, and all took leave.

At three o'clock this afternoon, all the women who had come with the Nawâb went down to the beach in seven or eight coaches; and having amused themselves there for a while, went home again at half-past four.

At three o'clock Hirâsat Khân went from Chandâ Sâhib's house to view Muhammad Asad-ul-lah's, and remained there for three-quarters of an hour before returning.

Saturday, December 30.[2]—To-day Hirâsat Khân sent Madame Dupleix a pendant worth [ ], four laced cloths and a piece of brocade. Muhammad

[1] For a note on these guns which are frequently mentioned in the memoirs of the time, *see* Naselle, p. 408.

[2] 19th Mârgali, Prabhava.

Asad-ul-lah sent the Governor five jewels and a cloth.

At three o'clock this afternoon Hirâsat Khân came to take leave of the Governor before setting out for Sâtghar. He was announced by a salute of fifteen guns. The Governor gave :—

to the Nawâb, six pieces of scarlet and two of coloured broad-cloth, [ ] yards of gold-flowered velvet, [ ] knives, [ ] Hungary water, [ ] mirrors; [ ] candle-shades.

to Muhammad Asad-ul-lah, two pieces of broad-cloth; two mirrors; [ ] candelabra;

to S'aadat-mund Khân, two pieces of broad-cloth; two mirrors; [ ] candelabra;

to Haidar 'Ali Khân, two pieces of broad-cloth;

to Krishnâji Pandit, [ ] broad-cloth;

to Lâlâ Munshi, [ ] yards of broad-cloth;

to Venkata Râo, [ ] yards of broad-cloth;

and to the Âchâriyâr, [ ] yards of broad-cloth.

After this, the Nawâb requested the Governor to allow Vîrâ Nâyakkan's son (who was expelled) to return to the town. This was granted. They then took leave of the Governor, and went to their lodgings, whence they assembled at Chandâ Sâhib's house to dine. I sent word, asking them to visit me. On their way out of the town at five o'clock, they did so. I gave :—

to Nawâb Hirâsat Khân, two pieces of broad-cloth;

to Haidar 'Alî Khân, [ ];
to Muhammad Asad-ul-lah, [ ]:
to S'aadat-mund Khân, [ ];
to Lâlâ, [ ];
to Badê Sâhib,[1] [ ];
to Krishnâji Pandit, [ ];
to Venkata Râo, [ ].

They accepted my presents, and then the Nawâb and his wife set out on their way; fifteen guns were fired at the Fort gate. The soldiers were given a present of twenty rupees each and the peons, ten.

This morning Venkata Râo, a clerk of Hirâsat Khân's son, visited me with Paiyambâdi Srînivâsa Âchâri. They were ordered to tell me that the Nawâb had had a house at Madras, with some goods in it in the charge of a Muhammadan and ten guards; and that when the troubles began last year, the goods were carried away and kept at Kalavai; but that now it was proposed to buy a house here to keep them in. They asked me what I thought about it. I answered that it was a wise thing to do, and added that the laced cloth for the Governor's wife must be of fine quality, and that she should also be given a pendant or some other jewel worth 500 rupees. 'The soldiers,' I said, 'must be given 500 rupees, or 300 at the least; anything less will not befit the Nawâb's greatness,

[1] Badê Sâhib, Chandâ Sâhib's brother, was dead at this time. Perhaps Ranga Pillai means his son; but I think more probably he alludes to another Badê Sâhib who in 1741 was in attendance on Safdar 'Alî.

since the marriage has been celebrated here and the Governor has shown him so many marks of honour ; besides which, when he goes to take leave to-day, I will see that due respect is shown him. We are merchants of long standing ; and what I suggest is to us no great matter. How much less then will it be to the Nawâb? He has already spent thirty or forty thousand rupees on the marriage ; another five hundred or a thousand rupees will not be felt. If he gives it, he will be praised for his generosity; but if he does not, people will speak lightly of him.'

Venkata Râo agreed, and said, 'What! You speak as though it were a great matter for the Nawâb. I will at once inform the Nawâb and send you word through Srînivâsa Âchâriyâr. He is much pleased with you, and I shall be able to obtain for you the Vannipet Shrotriem worth a hundred pagodas a year.'

He only brought for me a shawl worth twenty pagodas; but I considered that there was still much for him to do, and so I gave him a Manilla chain, which weighed twenty pagodas. I then gave him pân supârî and he took leave, promising to get me a lease of two villages.

He went straight to the Nawâb, and told him what I had said, to which the Nawâb agreed. On this, he sent me word by Srînivâsa Âchâri to have a pendant ready worth 500 rupees, but the laced cloth would be brought by the bridegroom. I then went to my nut-godown, and, finding Madanânda

Pandit, sent him to tell Madame that they had asked me to provide a pendant worth 500 rupees for her, promising to pay me the money for it; that if I were to go and buy it now, I should have to pay the jeweller ten per cent. more than it was really worth; and that if she would be pleased to send me one of her jewels, it might be presented along with the laced cloth.

But Madame, on hearing this, sent him to Hirâsat Khân with this message:—'We are not greedy, and have no need of your presents—your friendship is all we want. Go-betweens are misrepresenting matters. When you come to take leave, we will offer presents to you.' She promised the Pandit that she would cut his ears off if he deviated from her message, and conjured him to obey her by his father, his priest and the Vêdâs. Madanânda Pandit, hearing this, [ ].

JANUARY 1748.

Monday, January 1.[1]—Fanams at 24 to the pagoda.[2]

Raw rice, Sambâ, from 84¾ to 91 pagodas the garse.

Boiled rice,[3] Sambâ 83 pagodas ⅛ fanam the garse.

Boiled rice, Kâr, 71½ pagodas the garse.

Paddy, Sambâ, 41 pagodas 16 fanams the garse.

Paddy, Kâr, 35¾ pagodas the garse.

Maize, 41 pagodas 16 fanams the garse.

Ragi, 45 pagodas 11 fanams the garse.

Millet, 26⅜ pagodas the garse.

I ordered head-peon Muttu of Ariyânkuppam to find ten men to bring news from Fort St. David, at a fanam and a half each per day or 4 rupees 5 fanams per month,[4] his own pay being 10 rupees.

As it was New Year's Day, I went to the Governor and presented him with a shaddock. I said, 'May the new feast, the new month and the new year bring you health, long life and prosperity. May God

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[1] 21st Mârgali, Prabhava.

[2] The regular rate of the Pondichery fanam, while the Madras fanam was 36-42 per pagoda.

[3] Boiled rice (as opposed to raw rice) is made by pounding paddy which has been previously boiled and dried.

[4] This calculation appears inconsistent with the rates of exchange between rupees and pagodas (350-400 rupees per 100 pagodas), for 10 fanams would equal a rupee, and that would give only 240 rupees per 100 pagodas. It is possible that Ranga Pillai may mean a different variety of fanam here from that mentioned above—*cf.* the Calculation on p. 40 *supra.*

fulfil all your desires.' I added other compliments, the best I could find; and the Governor answered with a smile, 'Indeed I hope God will do so.' To which I replied, 'Even at the moment when He created you, He promised to be your guide and accomplish all your wishes; and so He has done up till now.' 'Much obliged,' the Governor said, 'for your good wishes.' Then he received his other visitors and went inside.

I waited till Madame returned from church, and then paid her my compliments with some limes. I then went with Chinna Mudali to visit the Councillors and other Europeans. Meanwhile the Governor sent a peon for me. I went at once. 'Ranga Pillai,' he said, 'don't forget my orders about preparing for the attack on Fort St. David. Are the bullocks ready?' I told him that they were, on which he said, 'Very well.'

He continued, 'You told me that 'Alî Naqî would be coming to take leave, and that presents should be given him; is that so?' I replied, 'He says he will take leave of you and set out for Wandiwash to-day, for he must get there to-morrow as that is the new moon[1] on which begins Muharram, the month of mourning.'—'Send for him at once, then,' the Governor said. I replied, 'It is only half-past ten now. He means to present you with a dress of honour, and the presents for him have also to be

[1] *i.e.*, the day on which the new moon becomes visible.

made ready. Chandâ Sâhib's son also intends going to Wandiwash. Usually you are pleased to pay visits from three o'clock till six. I will bring him here after your return. ' Alî Naqî Sâhib should be given fifteen guns, and as many more on his departure from the Valudâvûr Gate.'—'I will give the necessary orders,' he said.

I then took leave and returned to the European quarter where Tânappa Mudali and others were waiting for me. With them I visited some of the Europeans; the priests of St. Paul's church; and the Second; and then we went to my godown. After a while I sent Chinna Mudali and the others to the Mission Church.

Soon after this, I received from 'Alî Naqî two jewels—a plume set with a large and some small rubies, and a *sarpech* set with a large Holland-cut diamond and some smaller ones. He also sent an unset emerald, with a message that it might be kept instead of the *sarpech*. The plume set with rubies was valued at 70 pagodas; the diamond *sarpech* at 250 pagodas, and the emerald at 150. I therefore kept the plume and the *sarpech* and returned the emerald.

This afternoon at three I took the two jewels to the Governor with a dress of honour worth 150 rupees. For Madame there was a laced upper cloth, a laced tunic, and a pair of trousers embroidered with gold, valued at about 200 rupees. I also took with me a dress of honour for the Governor worth

200 rupees from Mîr Inâyat-ul-lah. The lists of presents to be given were then made out as follows :—

For 'Alî Naqî, three pieces of scarlet, twenty yards of green velvet, two pieces (making forty yards) of coloured broad-cloth, two pairs of glasses with stems, two pairs of hanging candelabra, [ ] scissors, [ ] Hungary water, [ ] Imperial water, [ ] balm, three large mirrors (worth 10 pagodas each) ;

For Mîr Inâyat-ul-lah, two pieces of broad-cloth, eight yards of velvet, one pair of glasses with stems; one pair of hanging candelabra; [ ] Hungary water ; two small mirrors.

The lists being thus written out and signed by the Governor, I got the presents ready before six and reported it to him as soon as he came in from his visits. I then sent for 'Alî Naqî Sâhib and Mîr Inâyat-ul-lah, who came at once and left their palankins at the Governor's Gate. They were received by M. Burat[1] and M. Kerjean; the Governor came as far as the sentry-box to meet them; he embraced them and led them into the house. Fifteen guns were fired when they had taken their seats.

After each had inquired after the other's health, the Governor asked what sort of a boy Safdar 'Alî

[1] Burat succeeded Dupleix as *Directeur* of Bengal. He was found out in an attempt to defraud the Company by passing off a private loan as a Company's debt, but was allowed to remain in India as *Conseiller ad honores*, at Dupleix' request. Cultru, p. 54.

Khân's son[1] was. They said he was intelligent, quick to discern the position of great men, and able to push his claims. They added that he would shortly come to visit the Governor.

At two this afternoon the Dîwân Sâhib and Akbar Sâhib's daughter left for Vellore.[2]

Tuesday, January 2.[3]—At eight this morning Taqî Sâhib's daughter[4] and his son, 'Alî Naqî Sâhib, left for Wandiwash. Fifteen guns had been ordered on their departure at the Fort Gate, but, when a peon was sent to say so, he was sent back with a message that the salute could not be fired as the guns had been shotted. Before fresh orders could be sent, 'Alî Naqî had left with his mother and Razâ Sâhib. Lest he should take offence at having no salute, a letter was written to explain the matter.

When Madanânda Pandit and I went to his house to bid him farewell, I was given a dress of honour and Madanânda Pandit a cross-hilted dagger.

Sunday, January 7.[5]—When I went to the Governor this morning, he ordered me to arrange

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1 *i.e.*, Dôst 'Alî Khân.

2 At this point there occurs a passage of a page and a half repeating the foregoing account of 'Alî Naqî's visit and presents in an abbreviated form and with the following deviations :—

It omits the diamond *sarpech* sent to Dupleix but adds that three jewels were given to Madame ; it also says that a laced cloth and two clothes with laced borders were given to Madame instead of the garments mentioned above ; and lastly from Dupleix' present to 'Alî Naqî it omits one piece of scarlet, the velvet, the glasses on stems, one pair of the hanging candelabra, the Imperial water and the mirrors.

3 22nd Mârgali, Prabhava.

4 The mother is mentioned below instead of the daughter.

5 27th Mârgali, Prabhava. Constellation Rêvati, Sudhâshtami [the 8th tithi after the new moon].

for ten or twelve bazaar-people to accompany the expedition against Fort St. David, and also twenty or thirty horses, as those in town were not fit to go. Then he asked when I was going to bring the heads of castes. I said at eleven.

The mint-people and the heads of castes, including Sêshâchala Chetti, met at my nut-godown and I carried them to the Governor, with music and dancing. Then I took the Company's merchants to pay their respects to Madame to whom were presented four pieces of money brought by the Company's merchants and a piece of silk brought by the mint-people. After that I with the heads of castes and Salatu Venkatâchala Chetti visited the Second; and then they all visited my house in state, with music and cymbals, drummers and dancing girls. I gave them pân supârî and so dismissed them. At three o'clock I bathed and ate; then I lay down, and at six I was told that Tiruvêngada Pillai's daughter-in-law, Mangaitâyi[1] was in labour.

While I was in my chamber, looking at the plan of the route to Fort St. David, Alagayya Pillai came to ask that Parasurâma Pillai might be ordered to give a hundred rupees to each of the bazaar-men going with the troops. I at once sent for Parasurâma Pillai and ordered him to do so. I asked Alagayya Pillai whether he had decided to contract to pay the soldiers their batta and to supply regular

[1] Tiruvêngada Pillai was Ranga Pillai's father; Mangaitâyi was thus Ranga Pillai's wife.

provisions, as the Governor had ordered. He answered that he could not do so. 'In that case,' I said, 'I must find some one else.' On that he answered, 'I will do as you say; but you must speak on my behalf to M. Desfresnes who is to supervise the matter, and I will make proper arrangements with him; but I cannot enter into any contract.'

While Alagappa Pillai was thus speaking with me in my writing-room, at eight or nine minutes past seven, when Katakam, the fourth sign[1] was just rising, Venkatâchalam, the son of Kumarappa Mudali, and a kinsman of Râmanâtha Mudali on the father's side, came and told me that a son was born. Subbammâl went to tell Guntûr Bâlu Chetti, who gave her a cloth worth a pagoda. Venkatakrishna Ayyangâr went to tell Arunâchala Chetti who gave him a turban worth a pagoda. When Emberumâl Pillai heard the news from a Brâhman, he gave him a silk shawl worth five or six pagodas. Everyone in the town rejoiced at the news. The Company's merchants visited me with dancing and music, distributing sugar on their way; Chinna Parasurâma Pillai also distributed sugar as soon as he heard the news; and the merchants and principal people of the town visited me. After I had bathed,[2] I distributed, as a thank-offering half a garse of paddy, fifty pagodas' worth of fanams and sixty or seventy rupees, besides giving pân supârî to all who came, from

[1] The sign of Cancer.

[2] In order to remove the ceremonial pollution caused by the birth.

the Brâhmans down to the dancing girls. So the people received my presents and went to their homes with much joy. All the inhabitants are so attached to me that they rejoiced more than if each had had a son born to him. Moreover the Muhammadans, Chandâ Sâhib's family, Badê Sâhib's family, Mîr Ghulâm Husain and others, sent me a tray of flowers, with congratulations, blessings and good wishes.

At midnight I wrote to Sêshâdri Pillai of Chingleput, to Nâchanna Pillai and to our Tirumalai Pillai, and engaged two men to deliver the letters within thirty-six hours for four rupees. I sent the child's horoscope to Sêshâdri Pillai, and furnished the messengers with passes, so that they might start early on the morrow.[1]

Monday, January 8.[2]—When I went to the Governor this morning, he ordered me to get three hundred bullocks instead of one hundred. I said I would do so, and, sending for Alagappa Mudali and Muruga Pillai, the custom-house managers, I made arrangements with them to supply the three hundred.

He then ordered me to furnish the guards at the limits with fifty match-locks. I told him they were not to be had here, but would have to be obtained from outside. 'Very well,' he said, 'get them.' So I wrote to Vêttavalam and Uyyâluvâr Pâlaiyam.

[1] At this point occurs an incomplete horoscope, which Dîwân Bahâdûr Swâmikannu Pillai has been so kind as to translate and annotate. It is printed in the Appendix.

[2] 28th Mârgali, Prabhava.

He then asked whether eight or ten long-barrelled and wide-bored muskets, such as Muhammadans use, could be had here. I said that there were some in Mîr Ghulâm's house; and he told me to get them and have them ready.

He then asked for the Fort St. David news. I said, 'The English are strengthening their batteries for fear of our people. Mr. Hallyburton is in camp with some troops at the Manjakuppam Garden, and is collecting stores and provisions. Their nightly rounds go as far as Marikrishnâpuram. Besides this, there is much water at the mouths of the Pennâr and the Gadilam; and they are on their guard. The merchants and other inhabitants have left their homes. Sometimes big merchants and other men visit the place and return, but no women. I hear two of our deserters have escaped thither. It is written that they have told the English that 1,500 or 2,000 military and Mahé sepoys with three hundred Tamil peons are collected at Ariyânkuppam, ready to attack Fort St. David.'[1] The Governor, instead of admitting that two Frenchmen had deserted, said, 'Either the peons at the Bound-hedge have been careless or you must have given them passes.' I replied, 'I never give passes to Europeans, or get them signed by M. Bury, without

1 Dupleix' projected attack was so well-known to the English that a Council of war was held $\frac{\text{December 25}}{\text{January 5}}$ to decide how it should be met. *Fort St. David Consultations*, January 7, 1748.

your leave.' As he said no more about it, I think those people may have gone off from Ariyânkuppam or got out under the passes of the gentlemen who often go to Madras; and as he merely smiled instead of getting angry when he heard the news, it is likely that they have been sent as spies, with orders to rejoin at the time of the attack.

As it was past noon, I came home. As I was going to lie down after having eaten, the nephew of Lazar the oil-seller brought me a letter from Varlâm which was as follows:—

'The Fort St. David spies have informed Madame that the English are receiving intelligence from Pondichery. When she told this to the Governor, he asked how the letters could get out as none may leave the town without your permit. Madame replied that you had so much to do that you gave your writer fifty or a hundred signed passes at a time, and people could get one whenever they pleased; that the clerk gave them to any body, and thus the letters were carried out. Madame added in proof of this that she had sent a beggar and that he had got a pass. As Madame thinks it is so easy a matter to get passes, you had better sign no more beforehand, and destroy this letter as soon as you have read it.'

I accordingly destroyed the letter, and considered what reply I should give the Governor if he questioned me about the matter. If he speaks of it again, I will give such an answer as will close the

mouths of those who spread such things. As he has not asked me about it, I have hitherto written nothing, it not being worth while.

At one o'clock a sloop and a grab[1] arrived from Madras with 250 men and their arms on board.

After I came home from my nut-godown at nine o'clock, Muhammad 'Alî Khân, younger brother of Miyân Sâhib of Perumukkal, came accompanied by Sêtu Mâdhava Râo and Periya Pillai. He brought me, with music and dancing girls, a tray of sugar, sugar-candy and fruit, with a dress of honour for myself and a laced coat and a cap for my son. After exchanging compliments with him, I received the presents, and gave six rupees to the drummers and other servants; a shawl worth ten or fifteen rupees to Mâdhava Râo, and two yards of green broad-cloth each to Gôvinda Pandit and Periya Pillai. They then took leave of me and departed. Afterwards I gave an Ariyalûr upper-cloth each to Ranga Âchâriyâr, Vijayarâghava Âchâriyâr and Dêvanâyaka Ayyangâr of this place, Kambâla Ayyar, Âchâriyâr of Perumbai, Nârâyana Sâstri and other respectable Brâhmans, to whom I was unable to give anything yesterday as the crowd was too great.

Tuesday, January 9.[2]—When I went to the Governor this morning he said that we needed 300

[1] The grab was a two masted boat (See Orme's *History*, i.408). It was in common use on the West Coast; but references to its use on the East Coast are comparatively rare.

[2] 29th Mârgali, Prabhava.

bullocks and from two to three hundred coolies; that Sivanâga Reddi need not come, as his family live at Tiruppâppulîyûr and would be molested if he did, and that it would be enough if he sent a hundred or a hundred and fifty of his coolies. I do not write this in detail, as just now I am very busy collecting provisions and all the horses there are in town, and so have no time.

M. Dargy [1] and some other officers arrived from Madras to-day.

The Governor received a letter from a topass, Manoel da Cunha, saying that the twenty-five soldiers at Chêtpattu would like to join, but if they did so now, would have according to their agreement to refund the two months' advance which they had received; that this advance amounted to 500 rupees, at 10 rupees a month; that besides this they owed 50 rupees and would need a rupee each for road-money; and that he could send the men if 575 rupees were sent him to pay these charges.

The Governor gave me the letter, telling me to send the money and get the men. I said I would do so, but asked him to write to Manoel da Cunha saying that Shroff Kâviral Venkatêsa Chetti would pay the 25 rupees road-money and be responsible for the payment of the remaining 550 rupees as soon as he heard of the soldiers' arrival here. He accordingly wrote the letter and gave it me. He also

[1] Captain and Commandant of the troops at Madras. A nephew of his, of the same name, was also in the French military service.

wrote to Kâviral Venkatêsa Chetti, directing him to pay the money—the 25 rupees at once and the remainder to the dîwân after the twenty-five men had arrived. I also obtained a letter from Mârga Nârâyana Chetti, and sent away all the three letters by peons together with the money.

A runner who used often to come in from Kîlalinjipattu has been seized as a spy and brought before Madame by one of our peons, who was formerly employed in bringing intelligence from head-peon Muttu at Ariyânkuppam. Madame at once ordered him to be put in prison [ ].

Wednesday, January 10.[1]—[ ] I heard more news to-day from Fort St. David. Lakshmanan, younger brother of Perumâl Mudali, Mr. Morse's dubâsh, used to send secret intelligence to me; now he frequently writes to Madame, and recently sent her by a topass an English letter, as though written by Mr. Morse without date or signature, and a Tamil letter from himself. But these letters were seized on the way hither at the Marikrishnâpuram Custom-house[2]; the topass was arrested, and carried with the letters before the Governor. When the man had been beaten and was questioned, he said they had been given him by Lakshmanan. The latter was therefore seized, tied up, and given five or six hundred stripes. He then confessed that he had written the Tamil letter, but said it had

[1] 30th Mârgali, Prabhava. [2] *i.e.*, at the English boundary.

been at Mr. Morse's orders and that Mr. Morse had himself written the other to the Governor of Pondichery. Mr. Morse was then sent for and questioned. 'You surrendered Madras,' they said to him; 'do you wish to surrender this fort also? is that why you wrote? and is it right to do such things?' He answered, 'I know nothing about it. I neither wrote the letter nor ever heard of it.' Then Lakshmanan was sent for and questioned in his presence; but persisted in saying to his face, 'This is the gentleman who wrote and under whose orders I wrote.' Mr. Morse said that somebody must have written the letter out of spite; but he was told that it was written in English and sent by his dubâsh, and that therefore he was responsible. He was then put in custody in the Fort; dubâsh Lakshmanan was flogged and put in irons; and the topass was also imprisoned.[1]

[1] No trace of this preliminary examination is found in the English records. It is very probable that inquiries were made of Morse, but Ranga Pillai's version is incredible. Lakshmanan was finally brought to trial by Court Martial on June 29, when sundry letters written by him to the French were produced with one purporting to be written him by Madame d'Epréménil. A passage in the last relating to Ranga Pillai is worth quoting: 'Aunenda Rangapilla and his uncle Termalah sent a daily account of this place to the enemy in the said town; now there is one Portugueze has sent word to us that these two cursed persons who are of the Shepherds caste continually write news of this place to the enemy. . . I do therefore ask you about it as your own mother and hope you will declare the truth to me with as much sincerity of a son.' Lakshmanan's letters (so far as discovered by the English) do not appear to have contained any very valuable secrets but there was no doubt of his correspondence, and he was condemned to be hung. The papers at the India Office on which this note is based were very obligingly communicated to me by Mr. William Foster, C.I.E.

When the Governor heard this, he remarked, 'Morse would never have done such a thing; some one must have a grudge against him.'

I then repeated the other Fort St. David news :—that Deadman's Battery near the European burying ground on the west of the Fort, is being demolished, though it cost 15,000 pagodas to build some time ago, as the Fort is in easy range of the fire of its guns.[1]

We then talked of other matters for a while, after which I went to my nut-godown.

The following incident took place to-day. There are at Singarikôyil two brothers, Vaishnava Brâhmans, who are spies for the English. Traps have been laid to seize them, but they have always cunningly escaped. But now Arulappan and head-peon Muttu have seized their eldest brother, who is employed at the Valudâvûr Custom-house, and brought him before Madame; and she has ordered both him and his mother to be put in irons and kept, the former in the Fort and the latter in the town prison. If I had wished to seize him, I could have done it long ago; but he is not concerned in this affair and lives near here. I wished to catch the guilty. But now some of Madame's gang have seized this man, and she has put him in prison.

Thursday, January 11.[2]—This morning I went to the Governor, and, after some conversation, I showed

[1] The English were afraid of being unable to hold their out-works.
[2] 1st Tai, Prabhava.

and interpreted to him the letter which has been written to Fort St. David.

Friday, January 12.[1]—To-day being the Feast of the Cattle,[2] the Gods should be borne in procession like hunters[3]; but this had to be put off till late in the day as all the coolies were carrying provisions, ammunition, and other things needed for the camp, including the bazaars, against Fort St. David. Afterwards I directed that the Gods should be carried round on light platforms[4]; accordingly in the evening they were carried out by the Valudâvûr Gate as far as [ ] and then brought back to the Fort. After going through the streets, the Gods Perumâl, Kâlahasti Îswaran and Vêdapuri Îswaran[5] returned to their several temples.

By reason of the preparations busily being made for the despatch of the soldiers, I could not leave the Governor's till nine o'clock. After gunfire I came home. The central hall of my house was adorned after the manner of the Court of S'aadat-ul-lah Khân. The floor was spread with carpets of wool and cotton. In the midst were large pillows of velvet brocade. I sat in the centre, and there received all the principal people and merchants of the town,

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[1] 2nd Tai, Prabhava.

[2] The festival at which cattle and carts are decorated and worshipped; the day after the great harvest feast of Pongal.

[3] *i.e.*, on figures representing horses.

[4] I suppose Ranga Pillai means without the figures of horses, so that fewer coolies would be needed.

[5] The first is Vishnu the Protector; the second and third different forms of Siva the Destroyer.

distributing gifts according to the rank of each—broad-cloth, shawls, women's cloths, upper cloths, and other things. Then at midnight pân supârî was given and all withdrew. I then rose, took some food, and lay down to sleep.

To-day 'Abd-ul-rahmân and his younger brother, Shaikh Hasan, the Jemadars of the Mahé sepoys, were given a Manilla chain and a small pendant each by Madame. The elder's chain was three-fold, the younger's double; but each present was worth about 25 pagodas. They then took their leave of her.

Saturday, January 13.[1]—The Governor sent for me this morning and said, 'Our people complain there are no bullocks or coolies.' I said, 'Sir, I have just sent a hundred and fifty bullocks and three hundred coolies.'—'Yes,' he answered; 'but that is not enough. Collect and send a hundred and fifty bullocks more, and three or four hundred coolies.' I promised to do so. He then asked me about the route to Fort St. David. I had it written out in French and gave it him. It was as follows:—

Ariyânkuppam to Karukkalâmpâkkam ...	2 7/8	miles.
Karukkalâmpâkkam to Sellânjêri ...	2	„
Sellânjêri to Tûkkanâmpâkkam ...	1 1/8	„
Tûkkanâmpâkkam to Tirupanambakkam.	2 2/3	„
Tirupanâmbakkam to Kuruvinattam ...	1 1/8	„
Kuruvinattam to Purasakuppam ...	2/8	„
Purasakuppam to Pâdirikuppam Châvadi.	2 1/8	„

[1] 3rd Tai, Prabhava.

(the Pennâr and the Gadilam flow in between)
Pâdirikuppam Châvadi to Tiruppâppuliyûr 1½ miles.
Tiruppâppuliyûr to Fort St. David ... 2 „

He looked over it and kept it with him.

I saw the Governor again at ten. M. Desfresnes, M. d'Auteuil, and M. Friell were then with him. M. d'Auteuil said, 'Ranga Pillai is quite ready to take the field with you. He has got his pistol and everything else but a gun. Give him two good ones.' The Governor answered, 'How can he go? He must remain to attend to business while I am away.' On that I exclaimed, 'Let me come with you and never leave you.' M. d'Auteuil and M. Desfresnes observed together, 'It is quite true. Dubâsh Ranga Pillai ought to go with you, and what he says is quite reasonable.' To this the Governor answered, 'The Second will be left in charge, and he is a good fellow, no doubt. But he is sluggish, not over-active, and not so capable as Ranga Pillai. Ranga Pillai has been trained under me; he knows how I like things done and can act accordingly. Besides, he knows all about Moghul affairs and can write suitable letters. He knows what I should do and say, and has much experience. He must therefore remain here and manage matters; no, he can't go, he must be left here.' I then interposed, 'Graciously be pleased to hear a word.'—'What is it?' he asked.—'Victory,' I said, 'attends you wherever you go. The past successes are due to none but you. People may say that such-and-such a victory

was won by the skill of M. Paradis or some one else; but in truth it was your good fortune reflected upon your servants; otherwise neither fame nor victory had been won. What need have you of other people's aid? Your good fortune by itself will go and plant your flag on Fort St. David. None need take any trouble about that.' On hearing me, the Governor, M. d'Auteuil, M. Desfresnes and the others all laughed. At last the Governor, still smiling, said, 'Ranga Pillai always talks like that.' He said much else also, but I have written only the more important things, lest I should seem boastful. However I have given a true outline of the conversation.

To-day the military and sepoys with the baggage moved out to Ariyânkuppam.

I suggested to the Governor this morning that Shaikh Ibrâhîm who commands five hundred men, had been left out when 'Abd-ul-rahmân and Shaikh Hasan were given presents yesterday, and that he would be discontented unless he also received a present. The Governor asked what should be given; and when I proposed a gold chain, he said he had none. I then procured a three-fold Manilla chain from Kâlahasti Ayyan for 25 pagodas, and persuaded him to put it with his own hands round Shaikh Ibrâhîm's neck, and to give him also four yards of broad-cloth. I also got presents of broad-cloth for 'Alî Khân and some others. After the presents had been given, the Governor said to Shaikh

Ibrâhîm, 'You shall be treated as 'Abd-ul-rahmân, and receive as much pay and rice as he does,' at which the Jemadar was extremely delighted, took his leave, and, in the evening, marched off to Ariyânkuppam with his men.

This evening the Governor ordered M. du Bausset to visit occasionally the peons we have posted at the Bound-hedge and to keep an eye on them.

To-day also he ordered me to write to Nawâb Anwar-ud-dîn Khân, saying, 'Formerly, during the late troubles with the English, you desired us not to attack them as they would not attack us; and since you are to us as a father, we have done nothing hitherto. But the English have seized and beaten our people, torn their garments and ill-used them; and they have even come into our villages and plundered them. However much we would obey you, we can no longer endure their misdeeds; and should we write of all their disobedience to our father's orders, surely you would grow angry. So we will not trouble you in this matter; we ourselves are marching against Fort St. David, and write to inform you of it.' This letter was to be written in Persian with suitable compliments. I was ordered furthermore to add, 'As our troops will march through your villages, we have commanded that no disturbances be made; and we request that you will order your amaldârs at Tiruviti, Panruti, Villiyanallûr, Venkatâmpêttai and Bhuvanagiri, etc., villages, to supply our people with rice, dhal,

provisions, straw, and other necessaries, for which the full price shall be paid.' The letter was written accordingly and sealed.

Other letters were written to the amaldârs of Tiruviti, Villiyanallûr, Bhuvanagiri and Villupuram, saying, 'Our forces will pass through your villages on their way against Fort St. David. You may rest in peace without fear. Whatever they need you should supply.' These letters have been written and sealed, and are kept ready to send as soon as orders are given to do so.

Sunday, January 14.[1]—Général Monsieur Chevalier Dupleix Mahârâjâ set out at six this morning for Ariyânkuppam, resolved to plant his flag on the walls of Fort St. David. I also went thither at half-past six, and saw that all preparations for the camp had been made. When I had seen and spoken with the Governor, I came back at ten, and was busy despatching coolies, bullocks and provisions. At six o'clock this evening four elephants came in from Wandiwash and were sent on to Ariyânkuppam at eight.

Monday, January 15.[2]—Madame Dupleix, Madame Barthélemy, and others who went yesterday to Ariyânkuppam came back at eleven last night after dining with the Governor. The troops, cavalry, military, etc., marched from Ariyânkuppam at four this morning, and the Governor set out at seven to proceed against Fort St. David.

[1] 4th Tai, Prabhava.

[2] 5th Tai, Prabhava.

As the Second was at the Fort, I went thither this morning. I was speaking with him till half-past eleven, and despatched the things required for the camp. Meanwhile a Europe frigate[1] came to anchor in the road, and the Captain came ashore at ten. She has been [ ] on her passage. The Captain says that twenty Europe men-of-war are coming, and that we shall have good news in five or six days; but he said nothing more definite. We shall learn all later on.

The Second went home from the Fort at half-past eleven. The drums did not beat nor did the guard turn out on his departure, for he has dispensed with such honours as all the garrison have gone to camp and the Fort is guarded only by the Councillors' writers and old men, who have been armed with muskets.

The Governor and M. Paradis arrived unexpectedly at half-past four this afternoon, with a guard of fifty European horse, a standard-bearer and a kettle-drum. This was because the Captain who arrived this morning went off to camp at Muttirusa Pillai's Choultry to see the Governor without his despatches, and, as they have to be read in Council, the Governor has come here. After the despatches had been read, he returned to camp at half-past five, with his guard. The news brought by the Europe letter is [ ].

[1] She was *La Cibèle*. Her news must have been only the arrival of Bouvet at the Isles and the departure of Albert's fleet for the Indies.

Wednesday, January 17.[1]—At seven this morning, after my cold rice, I went to the Fort, and while I was speaking with the Second, it was reported that some ships were in sight. With the help of a telescope they were made out to be six ships and a sloop[2], showing English colours. Seven guns were fired at once from the corner battery. The Governor heard them when he was beyond Tûkkanâmpâkkam, and, knowing what they meant, at once ordered his troops and baggage to retreat. He himself arrived at Pondichery at half-past eleven, with M. Paradis and fifty horse. The soldiers and the baggage came in parties one after the other. He did not persevere and see what could be done in spite of the ships' arrival; and we must believe that the English are destined to keep Fort St. David. M. Dupleix should have considered all possibilities before he set out, and has shown little foresight in this affair. He believed everything that Madame's spies told her; and so the master himself has gone out and returned ingloriously from Tûkkanâmpâkkam. When M. de Bury and M. de Latour were sent, they entered the enemy's bounds, seized the batteries, occupied the Company's Garden, plundered Tiruppâppuliyûr, and drove the enemy into Cuddalore; and then, when those in the Fort were flying to their ships and were about to set sail, the French

[1] 7th Tai, Prabhava.

[2] On January 6/17 Griffin arrived at Fort St. David with the *Princess Mary*, *Winchester*, *Pearl*, *Bombay Castle*, and *Bonetta* sloop.

retreated. But now, without even doing so much as that, the master himself went out and has come back from Tûkkanâmpâkkam, why no one knows. Two days before he set out, I received a cadjan letter, saying that the Commodore had been asked to return with his squadron of five or six ships, that he was sailing hither, and that 500 soldiers would soon arrive on board a ship. When I reported this, he answered, 'Your news is false. The Commodore has written that he is sailing with his squadron to the northward, that he cannot return, and that the garrison in the Fort must do the best it can.' Besides this, he said that Mr. Morse had been consulted in consultation and that he had advised the Fort to be surrendered as Madras had been, since there was no other means of safety, in consequence of which the English were already removing their goods. The Governor did not pause to consider whether Mr. Morse was likely to have said such a thing or not, but, relying altogether on Madame's news and believing it to be entirely true, he marched against Fort St. David inconsiderately, and inconsiderately returned. Everyone is continually making jests at his expense, and indeed it is plain that none can earn respect who follows a woman's counsel. [

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Friday, January 19. [1]—To-day the detachment, which came from Madras with M. Goupil [2] and other

[1] 9th Tai, Prabhava.

[2] Captain of Grenadiers.

Europeans, returned thither; also the frigate which brought news of the Europe ships was ordered to sail to meet them and accompany them hither.

Saturday, January 20.[1]—To-day [ ] peons arrived from Vêttavalam with two horsemen. They were assigned batta and quarters.

I got news from Dêvanâyaka Chetti of Porto Novo that the Kârikâl detachment has returned thither[2], but that the English have sent a boat and seized the four sick men that were left behind at Porto Novo. I reported this news to the Governor.

I will now enter the camp news that Appu Mudali (who accompanied the troops) sent me daily from the 14th instant. '*January 14.*—To-day the preparations were completed and the troops marched to Ariyânkuppam. They were at once drawn up to the sound of the drum; M. Paradis, M. Pichard[3], and one or two other Europeans were proclaimed as the commanders, and the troops were ordered to obey them as such. They were halted at St. Paul's Church, and horse were sent out to see whether any

[1] 10th Tai, Prabhava.

[2] Under Villeon. Apparently he marched overland to Porto Novo and, there hearing of Dupleix' retreat, withdrew to Kârikâl. *Le Riche to Dupleix*, January 19 and 20, 1748. (*P. R.—No. 83.*) Cf. p. 328 *infra.*

[3] A man of this name was appointed to the Company's service in 1741 and was wishing to resign in 1747 (*Compagnie au Cons. Sup.* November 25, 1741, *P.R.—No. 6*, and *Cons. Sup. à la Compagnie*, January 31, 1747, (*P.R.—No. 7*). He subsequently distinguished himself in the siege of Pondichery as lieutenant of Dragoons. (Nazelle, *op. cit.* 179 and 341). I conjecture him to be the person here mentioned; but, if I am right, he must have been recognised as an *officer* merely, not as one of the commanders.

of the enemy's horse or foot were on the road. They went as far as Marikrishnâpuram and returned without seeing any. Then a hundred men with spades were sent to fill up the channels and level the road. When this had been done for ten miles, they returned. Then the officers asked whether the coolies and bullocks were ready to move the baggage. I inquired, and reported that the cattle which had been moving baggage for the last four days could not proceed. When they asked why, I explained that both coolies and bullocks had returned to Pondichery as soon as they had been unloaded. The Governor grew extremely angry with those in charge, and wrote to you,[1] on which you collected them and sent them back. They have arrived safely. —*January 15.*—The troops drew out at four this morning on the sounding of the drums, but it was nearly seven before they marched off, and the Governor marched only after seeing that all the troops and baggage were on the move. M. Paradis and a few other Europeans were in advance. When they had crossed the Chunâmbâr and mounted the sand hills on the beach by Pûranânkuppam, they reported that seven Europe ships were lying in the Fort St. David roads. As a ship and a sloop arrived there to-day,[2] they thought there were seven and thus reported it. The Governor believed them and was considering what to do when

[1] *i.e.* Ranga Pillai to whom this report was addressed.

[2] The *Danbury* and the *Sea Horse* from Bengal and Vizagapatam.

he heard two guns at Pondichery. At once he sent two of the French horse to Ariyânkuppam and Pondichery to inquire the news, and himself went to Pûranânkuppam, with four or five Europeans and a guard of fifty horse and fifty military. There he saw with a telescope that there were only a ship and a sloop besides the ship[1] that was already there, and learnt the error of the first report. Then turning to the north he saw a ship off Pondichery, and watched it closely for a while to see what it was. Presently he saw a white flag, and announced it joyfully. Soon after a letter about the ship came from M. Legou. The troops were then ordered to halt at Muttirusa Pillai's Choultry, and the Governor returned thither from the sea-shore. On his way he heard a tumult in Lingâreddipâlaiyam, and sent some sepoys and horse to find out what the matter was. They found that some Coffrees and military, along with some palankin-boys, had been plundering, pulling down the houses, and causing a great uproar. The plunderers were ordered to be seized, but all had run off except one palankin-boy. He was given a good beating and left there. When the Governor rejoined the troops, he proclaimed the good news that many ships were coming. The soldiers and officers, who were drawn up in order, at once waved their hats and shouted *Vive le roi, vive le roi.* While they were thus shouting for joy, another letter came from Pondichery about the arrival of the ship; and

[1] The ship was the *Harwich.*

people say that sixteen ships with large reinforcements are near at hand. After taking some food, the Governor set out for Pondichery at three o'clock to read the letters of the packet in Council. He returned to camp at seven, and, after dinner, at eight he told me to write to you. I wrote accordingly and sent the letter by a sepoy trooper with the Governor's pass for his admission into the town. The trooper was too stupid to shout at the gate, produce his pass and get admittance, and returned saying the guards refused to open the gate. I did not report this at once as it was too late for me to disturb the Governor.—*January 16.*—The drums beat this morning at four o'clock. I reported the matter of the trooper last night, and the Governor ordered me to send the letter at once by another trooper, and I did so. The army then moved off, and on the march several bullocks dropped with their loads of cannon-balls, tents and gunpowder. Every time that he saw this, the Governor got out of his palankin, and saw that nothing was left behind. We reached Tûkkanâmpâkkam at eleven, and there all went to their respective stations to prepare their food. Meanwhile a Brâhman, said to be a spy, was brought before the Governor and ordered to be sent to Pondichery. There was some disturbance in the camp at half-past four. As usual, an advance guard of twenty sepoys was posted about half a mile in front of the camp. They suddenly saw ten English troopers not far off,

on the road by the babool thicket on the way to Bâhûr. When the advance guard gave the alarm, their supports and the other out-posts ran to join them. We could see them running, but did not know why. The bazaar-people fell at once into confusion. The drums beat to arms and the troops drew out; and then we heard that the enemy had run away. In consequence of this alarm, the outposts are to be strengthened at night. The sepoy patrol seized two men at seven o'clock this evening. They said they were treasury peons of Mîr Sâhib's from Tiruviti, sent to collect money from the villages and each had a chit. But the chits were found to contain only the names of the villages and the amounts due in chakrams [1] and fanams, without any signature. The men were therefore arrested on suspicion and carried before the Governor, who also suspected them of being spies and ordered them to be tied to two trees and given ten stripes each. Then they were questioned. One was found to have four or five lead bullets, which were believed to be English. They were then beaten severely, threatened, and again questioned. But they still declared that they were Mîr Sâhib's people, and said we could make inquiries and if they were found to lie their heads might be cut off. They were given into the custody of the

[1] A gold coin current at this time in the southern parts of the Madras Presidency, valued at rather more than half a pagoda. Cf. *Registre du Cons. Souv.* i. 31 and Wheeler's *Madras in the Olden Time* (ed. 1882) p. 309.

sepoy commandant.—*January 17.*—The troops were drawn up in marching order. When we were four miles south-west of Tûkkanâmpâkkam, we heard the sound of two guns from Pondichery. The troops were instantly halted and commanded to be silent. They did so. The Governor read the letter written by the Secretary, M. Boyelleau,[1] and said that we should soon hear five or six guns; and it proved so. He was greatly troubled. For five or six minutes he sat motionless on his horse. Then he dismounted. He clenched his fists and stamped upon the ground. He exclaimed, "Never was anything so unlucky! It is just the same as last time[2]." Then he called the Major and other officers, and ordered a retreat. Getting into his palankin, he went on a short distance, and then he got down under a tree and took some bread and a glass of wine. After that he got in again, and went about three miles towards Pondichery with his guard and a few Europeans. Then he halted to write a letter to the troops that had marched from Kârikâl to Porto Novo; after which he returned direct to Pondichery. For these last four days, the discipline of the soldiers, the brisk marching of the infantry, and the good order of the baggage have been admirable. The mere sight of them would have struck terror into the minds

[1] Ranga Pillai writes 'Peduththalum' which elsewhere indicates Barthélemy, but Boyelleau is evidently meant.

[2] Referring to Griffin's appearance which prevented Paradis' attack.

of the enemy. All were full of zeal, including the Kômuttis, Chettis and even the coolies. On the march the army was like a flood of people—there must have been 10,000 men altogether. I have omitted matters of no consequence. On the march and when he alighted, if the villagers came and complained that their crops were being damaged, the Governor at once sent sepoys with proper orders and satisfied the people with a present of four or five rupees. The former expeditions were not one-eighth as well managed as this; and it is entirely due to M. Dupleix, who cared nothing about what he ate or when he slept, ate the same food as the men, and took no thought for his personal comfort."[1]

Wednesday, January 24.[2]—When I was with the Governor this morning, he said, 'Send for the renters of the out-villages, Olukarai, Murungampâkkam, and Ariyânkuppam, and make them agree to pay the rent up to December 1747 in paddy.' I sent for them accordingly, and told them they were to supply paddy to the value of 4,000 pagodas, for their rents up to December. They said they would consider the matter and reply presently.

Four ships sailed into the road from the northward at ten this morning. As they showed no colours, our people mistook them for French, and hoisted the French flag. The ships then put out

[1] Here end Appu Mudali's reports to Ranga Pillai.
[2] 14th Tai, Prabhava.

English colours and sailed on to the southward.[1] At noon departed this life Gavinivâsa Mudali. He was son of Tambuswâmi Mudali, and brother-in-law of Kanakarâya Mudali, and was employed at the Beach[2] in the place of Kêsava Ayyan. He was buried in the cemetery at eight this evening.

About four o'clock this afternoon images were carried in procession by Kanakarâya Mudali's house out to Olukarai, for the feast of the church which he built there [3].

Thursday, January 25.[4]—There is no news to-day. Lakshmanan, son of Muttayya Pillai, has been very sick for the last two months. As his pulse was feeble, and he was growing cold and hardly able to draw his breath, and as the doctors said he could not live, the rite of purification[5] was performed about the time of the evening gun. He died at half-past four in the night. He was Pâpâl's husband, and the adopted son of Muttayya Pillai, the son of Vengu Pillai.

Friday, January 26.[6]—This morning, it being Êkâdasi,[7] the body was carried to the burning ground after nine, and then we returned [ ].

[1] These were some of the shipping which reached Balasore in December and brought out Stringer Lawrence as Major with a considerable number of recruits.

[2] *i.e.*, in the Sea Custom-house.

[3] See *Vinson's Les Français dans l'Inde*, p. xviii.

[4] 15th Tai, Prabhava.

[5] In expiation of the sins of the dying man. It consists in the giving of alms and the sprinkling of water.

[6] 16th Tai, Prabhava.

[7] The eleventh day after the new and after the full moon—one of the *dies nefasti* of the Hindus.

Saturday, January 27.[1]—This morning we went to the burning ground to pour milk over the ashes, and returned at eight. At noon I performed the rite of retying the turban.[2]

To-day Râmalinga Chetti, younger brother of Sittambala Chetti, the Company's merchant, cleaned his teeth at the tank at seven and went to the flower-garden to gather flowers for worship. There he suddenly fell down, his breath failed and he swooned; and he died as he was being carried to his house.

As M. Choisy[3] had died at Masulipatam, his wife went to Yânâm, and, after getting in her property, sailed on a Dutch ship to Pulicat where she landed. She wrote that she was coming on to Pondichery and might be expected to-day. Consequently the west wing of the *Gouvernement* was got ready for her, and the Governor himself went out to meet her as far as Kottakuppam and Nainiya Pillai's Choultry. He waited there till six, and, as she had not then arrived, he sent peons on to my Choultry to get news of her and himself returned to Pondichery. Madame Choisy arrived at the Governor's house at seven, and they embraced and condoled with her.

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[1] 17th Tai, Prabhava.

[2] Among Sûdras the funeral rites continue for sixteen days, during which time no turban should be worn. But when necessary, the turban may be retied after the milk ceremony. In the latter case none the less the turban must be retied again with the proper ceremonies on the completion of the funeral rites.

[3] See p. 196 *supra*.

News came by letter that Lakshmipati, younger brother of Sungu Sêshâchala Chetti, died yesterday at Cuddalore. As it was Êkâdasi, he ate some rice cakes; at night he went several times to the stool, became unconscious, and died.

This afternoon, after my food, I lay down, and, as I felt heavy when I awoke, I did not go out in the evening. At eight o'clock the head-writer of the Choultry came and told me the following story:—

The Governor sent for Râmachandra Ayyan from the Beach and ordered him to purchase all the grain landed to-day, yesterday and the day before. He also sent for the merchants in charge of the paddy, and told them to sell it at the market rate which, he said, was four great measures [for the fanam]. He then sent for the head-writer of the Custom House, and said that from to-morrow paddy was to be sold at four great or eight small measures for the fanam, instead of three great measures and a half or seven small measures. The head-writer answered that if the price was thus lowered grain would become scarce, for merchants would cease to import it, fearing that it would be bought by the Company at low rates, and he begged the Governor not to fix the price thus. But the Governor said, 'Where else can they take their paddy to? They must bring it here. You don't understand the matter, and need not perplex yourself over it.' The manager said, 'It is well,' and so came to tell me of it.

To-day four or five Kavarais [1]—Singiri, Lakshayâ Râmanayyan and others—brought samples of wheat, and said that Annapûrna Ayyan had fifty or sixty pallas [2] at Lâlâpêttai and Arcot which he would sell at 4⅜ Madras current pagodas [3] per palla; the cost of conveyance to Pondichery, they said, would be 2⅝ rupees a bag. I examined the samples, and gave the men an advance of 32 rupees. I also wrote at once to Muttu Pillai and Tirumalai Pillai at Lâlâpêttai telling them to forward in well-tied bags all that was weighed to them. I also sent two peons to bring the wheat by the best road.

Sunday, January 28.[4]—As I was going to the Governor's this morning, I met Appu Mudali and Tyâgu. They told me that the Governor said he was very pleased to hear of the birth of my son, but asked why I had not told him about it. They answered that I had not mentioned it at the time because he was about to march against Fort St. David, and that I had said nothing about it since because I thought he must have heard by other means. He answered, 'Rangappan was praying for a son, and now God has fulfilled his desire.' About the death of my son-in-law Lakshmana Pillai, he said, 'It was a pity he did not say what was the

[1] A sub-division of the Chetti caste, speaking Telugu. See Thurston's *Castes and Tribes*, iii, 263.

[2] See p. 36 *supra*.

[3] Not the 'Madras Pagoda,' which circulated mainly in the Northern Circars, but the current (or Star) pagoda of Madras.

[4] 18th Tai, Prabhava.

matter with him; but Rangappan need not mourn over that matter now.' He added, 'Rangappa's younger brother, Tiruvêngadam, is good for nothing. He is always running after women, has got diseased, and does no business at all.' I heard the same story from Peddu Nâyakkan who told me all that passed yesterday between the Governor and Appu Mudali.

When I went into the hall, the Governor was busy, so I went out to where Tânappa Mudali was sitting near the sentry, and talked with him. Then the Governor sent for me. He asked what the cadjan was that I was carrying. I told him it was an estimate of the produce of the out-villages. 'That's right,' he said, and continued, 'I hear that your son-in-law had a fistula, but said nothing about it, and died of gangrene; is that so?'—'Yes,' I answered, 'but he lived as long as he was destined to.'—'Perhaps,' he answered, 'but none the less it was foolish to conceal it. However God has blessed you with a son to console you for your daughter's death, to inherit your goods and maintain the prosperity of your family. But why did you not tell me?'—I said, 'I did not tell you because you were busy with the expedition against Fort St. David. The child has been born to worship you and serve you as your slave.' He smiled, but answered, 'You ought to have told me the very day he was born.'

He then went to speak to his wife, and, when he came back, asked how many garse of paddy

the out-villages would produce. 'At present,' I said, 'we cannot reckon on more than 130. The out-turn may be greater, and, were it not for the dry crops, we should expect more. Some also must be set aside for seed and the cost of cultivation, and only the remainder can be measured to the Company.'—'Very well,' he said, 'but you must settle the price.' I said it should be settled as he was pleased to order. 'No,' he answered, 'I know nothing about it; you must fix it as you see fit.' I said I would send for the inhabitants and report what they had to say.

He then asked, 'How many children have you had? and how many are living now?' I told him that of four daughters the two eldest had died and two were alive, together with my son who had been born to serve as his slave. He asked me again and again why I had not told him of the birth of my son. I answered as I had answered before, that he was busy preparing for the expedition against Fort St. David. Nevertheless he repeated the question twice, thrice, and even four times—why, I cannot tell. He then asked the news of Fort St. David, and again said, 'God has consoled you for the death of your son-in-law.' I answered with a compliment.

When we had spoken thus for a while, I asked if it would not be well to send off the peons and others who had been sent in from Vêttavalam. He told me to send them back, paying them at the rate of a fanam each, and giving the matchlock-people

two yards of broad-cloth each as well; also to write a complimentary letter to the Pandâri of Vêttavalam, saying that a present should be sent later on; but, he added, the peons need not wait for that. I said it should be done, and then reported that Tambichiyâ Pillai and Viswapati Ayyar of Udaiyârpâlaiyam were sending two hundred Bondilis[1]. He ordered me to send people to tell them to return, and to be sure to see that the Vêttavalam people got their batta as ordered. I said it should be done, and came home for food.

To-night I sent for the Vêttavalam horsemen and matchlock-people and gave them their batta, which amounted to a rupee each, and the presents, as had been ordered. The Ayyangâr and peons from Tambichiyâ Pillai of Udaiyârpâlaiyam were similarly paid and told to return at once.

Monday, January 29.[2]—This morning I went to the Fort and asked M. Cornet when he would be ready to bale the hundred corge of blue cloth and the dressed white cloth.[3] He said that the Second was not well, but that the cloth should be baled as soon as he came into town, in a day or two.

M. Lucas objected to a receipt of his for 360 rupees—one of those given for the 3,360 rupees he

[1] Men of reputed Rajput descent from Bundelcund. See Thurston's *Castes and Tribes*, i, 257.

[2] 19th Tai, Prabhava.

[3] Cloth was usually washed, bleached and starched before being packed for Europe.

received in all at Lâlâpêttai. This receipt had not been signed by him, presumably by oversight. I pointed out that the receipt was written out in his own hand, and so no objection ought to be raised even if it did not bear his signature. One or two Europeans agreed with what I said, and at last M. Lucas himself agreed. I also pointed out that the country people would not ask for his signature if he wrote out the receipt himself, and that he had actually written ten lines. Although he had withdrawn his objection, I said I would take the receipt to the Governor and return it to him afterwards, when we would settle the balance in pagodas.

I then went to the Governor's house, and on my way met a peon coming to fetch me. The Governor asked whether the blue cloth had been sent to the Fort. M. Cornet said that a hundred corge of blue cloth had been received and that the white cloth was ready dressed. The Governor then asked how much paddy had been bought according to his orders. I told him, ten garse. He said, 'I don't expect much will be brought in, for ten days or so, as we have ordered Kâr paddy to be sold at four great measures and Sambâ at three and a half. Merchants will not like selling at a measure more than before, and they will take ten days or so to get over it.' I answered that it was true. He then asked what the price of paddy was likely to be this year. I answered that I expected it to sell at about five great measures. He agreed with me. M. Cornet

and M. Porcher[1] then said that they were not willing to sell their paddy from the northward. I answered severely that it should be measured now and that they could settle the price with the Governor afterwards. The Governor said soothingly, 'Don't be hard on them; they will sell of their own accord at the market-price.'

M. Cornet had brought to the Governor a Telugu letter which M. Boyelleau received from Madras this morning, signed by Periyambala Chetti, Ammayappa Chetti, and Tândavarâya Chetti, the gumastas of the Company's merchants at Madras, reporting the amount of cotton they had bought. The Governor gave it to me, directing me to get it signed by the Company's merchants and then to deliver it to M. Cornet. I said I would see to it, and gave the letter to M. Cornet, saying I would bring the Company's merchants to him.

When M. Cornet had taken his leave, the Governor again called me and asked what was the Fort St. David news. I said that there were in the roads fourteen ships and some sloops[2]; that some Europeans had been landed[3]; and that they were now strengthening their works. 'Where is Muttayappan and what is he doing now?' he then asked.

[1] Porcher, who had been in the French Company's service, was allowed to return as a free merchant to India in 1739. *La Compagnie au Cons. Sup.* September 26, 1739. (*P.R.—No.* 6.)

[2] There were the ships of Griffin's squadron, reinforced by three fresh ships from England, together with three Company's ships from England *via* Bengal.

[3] There were 84 recruits for Fort St. David on the Company's ships.

I said he was at Utramallûr, very feeble and blind. He observed, 'I remember being told last night that he had died.'—'Those who deserve your displeasure deserve to die,' I said. He then said, 'Some one told me he has no son and that his adopted son also is dead. Who is the heir?' I said he had no relations on his father's side, but that he could adopt some one. 'But he is the notary and village accountant; who will succeed to the post?' he asked. —'I wonder he has not already adopted an heir,' I answered. He inquired if he had really mortgaged his house and property to the St. Paul's priests; and when I said he had, the Governor exclaimed, 'M. Dulaurens is a rascal; like master, like man!' and said other abusive things. He then asked where Kandan was. I said he was at his native place, spending extravagantly all he had got. The Governor said, 'Ill-gotten gains never prosper; he will spend as he got.' I said, 'He is not the only one. All those who made their fortunes at Madras will do the same.'—'No doubt,' the Governor answered.

I then reminded him that sometime ago Nawâb Anwar-ud-dîn Khân had written about the Madras rent, and that a year's rent should be sent to him. He at once sent for Friell, and asked him about it. Friell in turn asked me. I said I was not sure whether it was eleven or twelve hundred pagodas,[1]

[1] It was of course 1,200 pagodas.

but that broad-cloth, rosewater and provisions should be sent along with it, besides dusturi for the writers and servants,[1] according to the Nawâb's letter. The Governor ordered me to have a letter written to M. Barthélemy, asking him to examine the English records and say what should be sent. Accordingly I got a letter written by M. Bertrand; it was signed and sealed by the Governor; and I sent it off to Madras. I also wrote to Gulâb Singh, asking him to tell me how much the rent and dusturi really were. I sent this off by one of the two men who came from Arcot; and then came home.

When I went to my nut-godown this evening, Chinna Parasurâma Pillai, Mâriyappa Mudali, Vîrâ Nâyakkan, and Kâlavarâya Kumara Pillai came to tell me that writer Tândavarâya Pillai was dying. They brought with them Tândavarâya Pillai's man, Muttukumara Pillai, made him prostrate himself before me, and begged that he might be given the post. I said, 'God is merciful; nothing can be done but by His will.' Chinna Parasurâma Pillai besought me with tears, saying, 'You brought me up and made me what I am; do now the same for this man.' Again I said, 'God will protect him,' and dismissed them. But they said, 'Tândavarâya Pillai will have died before we can return.' So I sent them away with a little encouragement, saying, 'What God wills, men cannot hinder.' I then came

[1] The Kanûngo's duty. See p. 261, *supra*.

home; and after it was midnight Muruga Pillai came to me and asked that the appointment might be made as they desired, and they would give something. Then Muttayya Pillai, the son of the Arumpâtai[1] came, and begged with many fine words that the appointment might be given to himself. Lastly at half-past three Kâlavarâya Kumara Pillai and Vîrâ Nâyakkan were sent to say that both I and the Governor should profit if the post were given to Muttayya Pillai. I only answered, 'If God wills, it will be done,' and so dismissed them with hope. They expected me to take their bribes, not knowing my purpose. But in this affair [ ].

Tuesday, January 30.[2]—As the Second is unwell, I visited him this morning. After I had inquired after his health, we discussed the town affairs. He told me that thirty or forty corge of stout long-cloth, nine kâls[3] wide, were wanted at the hospital, and should be obtained from Udaiyârpâlaiyam as the weavers used coarse yarn there. I said it would be dangerous bringing them thence; but he only said, 'Let Vîrâ Chetti get them.' I thought it would be unwise to argue the matter, and so agreed.

[1] I am not sure whether this is correct or whether it should be 'son of Arumpâtai Pillai.' But I believe the form adopted in the text to be the correct rendering. In a letter of 1759 De Leyrit writes, 'Les ordres du Ministre concernant l'Arombaté paraissent ne regarder que votre armée et ne peuvent avoir lieu pour la ville où il est nécessaire qu'il y ait *un écrivain noir qui ait le détail des dépenses.* La famille de Vinaiquen en est chargé depuis plus de quatre-vingt ans.' (*Mémoire pour Leyrit* p. 352).

[2] 20th Tai, Prabhava.

[3] The *Kâl* was 240 threads of the warp.

Then I went to the Governor's. After reporting as usual the choultry news, I announced the death of the writer, Kûdam Tândavarâya Pillai. I said, 'Originally the appointment was in the hands of the Chief Dubâsh, but, after Kanakarâya Mudali's dismissal and when Guruva Pillai was in Europe, there was no Chief Dubâsh for three or four years. So the pay of the Arumpâtai and of Âdiyapâda Pillai was borne by the Company. Ever since then the Chief Dubâsh has not paid these people. When Guruva Pillai was dubâsh for a couple of years after his return from Europe, no change was made, as he received many presents and did not trouble about small matters. When Kanakarâya Mudali succeeded Guruva Pillai, he thought at first that he could do nothing till his appointment had been confirmed in Europe; and afterwards he took his brokerage and secret profits as well, and thought he would rather not have the writer to pay out of his own profits. So he also did nothing, for he cared for nothing but his gain. I do not ask that matters should be put upon their old footing. The man who now has the post may be kept,[1] but I think you should receive something and he should be given an order of appointment. But I do not ask that matters should be as they were at the time when Nainiya Pillai was imprisoned and during the

[1] This appears to me obscure, for the matter was the appointment of a successor to the deceased Tândavarâya Pillai. Perhaps the latter had been sick for some time and his son-in-law had been acting for him.

two years of Kanakarâya Mudali's first dubâsh-ship.' He answered that he would do as I proposed. 'Very well, Sir,' I said; 'then we will appoint the son-in-law and arrange for a suitable present for you.' Again he said, 'All right; do as you like.'

Then M. Delarche came and said that the paddy-merchants were complaining that they could not sell at eight measures, although he had told them that the price of paddy in the outside villages should not be taken into consideration; and he added that they would sustain severe losses. The Governor only smiled.

Then we spoke of the northern news—Bhâji Râo's preparing 100,000 horse to attack Nizâm-ul-mulk, the latter's sending to treat for peace and summoning Nâsîr Jang to join him; and Nâsîr Jang's taking Mahfuz Khân with him. Then the Governor said, 'Ranga Pillai, tell Tarwâdi to give me a bill on Delhi for sixty or seventy thousand rupees, payable when the sanad for the jaghir has been issued and sent to us,[1] otherwise not payable. Speak to him and let me know what he asks.' I said I would do so. I will write later on what happened this afternoon.

To-night I heard that Muttayya Pillai (the son of the Arumpâtai) and Ariyappa Mudali both spoke to Varlâm, Madame's dubâsh, and arranged that he

[1] I do not know to what this can refer unless to a confirmation by the Moghul of the proposed exchange of Madras for Villiyanallûr and Valudâvûr.

should persuade Madame to get Muttayya Pillai appointed to Kûdam Tândavarâya Pillai's post of writer. They promised that presents should be given to the Governor and Madame, and to Varlâm himself. They said they would have spoken to me about the matter, but that they knew that I should take Chinna Parasurâman's side. Varlâm promised to help them. I will note later the name of the man who told me this.

Wednesday, January 31.[1]—I went to the Governor's at eight this morning, and, having made my salaam, went and sat down near the sentinel. At nine the head Custom-house writer, Muruga Pillai, came and reported the news. The Governor said, 'In future, report all this to Ranga Pillai, and not to me.' The writer then salaamed, and, coming to where I was seated, told me what the Governor had ordered. I said, 'Very well,' and, going in, salaamed to the Governor a second time, and then sat down again at a little distance.

Presently Vîrâ Nâyakkan and the Nayinâr came and told me that the screen of palmyra trees interlaced with coconut and palmyra leaves, at the back of the Capuchins' Church (which is being rebuilt) had caught fire, that the fire had spread to the altar which was near, and that the image and the pictures had all been burnt. I reported this to the Governor, who only said, 'We can't help it.' We shall see what evil this portends.

[1] 21st Tai, Prabhava.

FEBRUARY 1748.

Thursday, February 1.[1]—When I went to the Governor's this morning, he said, 'Why have you not yet interpreted to me Imâm Sâhib's letter?' I answered, 'Madanânda Pandit has eaten nothing for three days, and only yesterday was allowed to eat anything. He will come here to-day.'—'He is not dead, too, is he?' he asked.—'I was going to keep the letter back,' I answered, 'till he came to-morrow, so that its contents might be kept secret[2]; but he is coming now.' And as we were thus speaking he came, and was ordered to read and interpret the letter, which was as follows:—

'I have received your letter and rejoiced at its contents. I have received the copper and other things sent by Khâzi Avây Sâhib, for which my son Hasan 'Alî Khân gave a signed and sealed receipt. In the Nizâm's court and public assemblies they speak much of your valour, power, and glory. Your conquest of Madras and settlement of the province, and the glory you have obtained thereby, are noised through all the Deccan and Hindustan, and in Delhi it is said that you have done such things as could scarce have been performed by the Emperor, the King of Kings. God will favour you with more victories still. I am told you are

[1] 22nd Tai, Prabhava.

[2] Ranga Pillai, it appears, could understand but not read Persian, Cf. ii, 93 *supra*.

increasing your people; but what need is there? Since I look upon your loss as mine, so I write to you. Your people at Madras still refuse to restore my goods. Had you known, I am sure there would have been no delay; therefore I ask that you will order your people to let them go. Among them are goods that belong to Nawâb Nâsîr Jang. There has been great complaint about your having stopped them, so be pleased to release the goods in my house at Madras and repay the private debt of 25,000 pagodas that you owe me.[1] Please also send a hundred candies of lead and four shoulder-loads of the best wine you have. I have received your account of the rents and revenues of the villages in the Valudâvûr and Villiyanallûr countries. Nâsîr Jang is expected soon. When he comes, we will arrange to send the sanad as desired. Send us some coffee. When the Nizâm heard of the palankin that you gave to Avây Sâhib, he inquired about it. I wrote to him that between your affairs and mine there was no difference, and that a palankin should be obtained for him. He may write to you about it. Also he has sent for Nâsîr Jang to come at once. Nâsîr Jang has answered that he will do so.'

All this was duly reported save what is said about the repayment of the 25,000 pagodas.

[1] This debt seems to have dated from 1739 when Imâm Sâhib lent the French 50,000 pagodas and 1740 when he lent them a further 40,000. *Cons. Sup. à la Compagnie*, September 30, 1740. (*P.R.—No. 6.*)

Then M. Auger came and said that the captain of the English ship[1] that anchored here yesterday had sent two boats with some Europeans to seize the masula-boat which was towing some beams of teak down from Sadras and that the timber therefore was being brought ashore; and he desired that some military or sepoys might be sent to protect it. Shaikh Ibrâhîm who was there was at once ordered to take all the sepoys stationed up to the northern barrier in the Bound-hedge, and to prevent the English from landing and capturing the masula-boat. He was told to fire upon the boats, and promised a reinforcement. Shaikh Ibrâhîm said he would do this and took his leave. The Governor himself went down to the beach, and sent off fifty Mahé sepoys with six extra muskets.

Hearing that the masula-boat with the timber had put ashore near my choultry, Shaikh Ibrâhîm went thither with the Mahé sepoys. On seeing them, the officer with the boats fired four times at them; but three shots fell short on the sand and the fourth went over the peons' heads. Then flags were run up on the ship and the boats were signalled to return. They considered the matter, and, having carried off the fish that some fishermen had with them, the two boats returned to the ship. When the Governor heard this, he ordered coolies to be sent to bring in the timber and the sepoys to guard it until it had all been brought ashore.

[1] This seems to have been the *Eltham*.

This evening a letter was brought to me, written by Arumpâtai Muttayya Pillai and Ariyappa Mudali to Varlâm. I read it and gave it back. It said: 'If with Madame's help you get the matter settled, you shall reap the fruit of the happy news that you will have to give.' Thus they wrote subtly, and added that they would not mind even if the affair cost a little more than had been agreed upon, for they desired it to be arranged and hoped they would be able to compliment Varlâm on his success, news of which they were anxiously awaiting. I will write on a future day the name of the man who brought me the letter.

Friday, February 2.[1]—I went to the Governor's this morning when he returned from church. He asked me what I had heard about the Europe ships which arrived seven or eight days ago at Fort St. David. I answered, 'I hear that they left Europe last March; five have arrived; when they sailed, the news of the capture of Madras had not reached Europe, for they have brought three hundred men for the Madras garrison.[2]' When I said this, his anger was unspeakable. He said, 'You are not attending to the Company's business half so well as you used to do. Do you want to frighten me with news of the enemy's reinforcements?' With other

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[1] 23rd Tai, Prabhava.

[2] See p. 338 *supra*. This is either an enormous exaggeration of the facts, or else a confused rumour of Boscawen's coming, news of which had already reached Fort St. David. See *Country Correspondence*, 1748, pp. 7–8.

angry exclamations, he went into Madame's room and I went into writer Ranga Pillai's office till the storm should blow over. But what would he have said if I had given him all the news in my letter? It says, 'Only five ships have arrived, but nine left in March; two hundred chests of silver, bales of broadcloth, chests of coral and the other Europe goods they generally bring have arrived; the other ships will arrive in five or six days. Though the capture of Madras was not known, five hundred men have been sent, as Mr. Morse had previously written for reinforcements; out of those already arrived two hundred have been landed, more will come ashore to-day or to-morrow, and the rest will be brought by the other ships. Two or three Bengal ships have arrived with silk and other Bengal goods, bringing also the wives of Mr. Morse and Mr. Croke. As soon as the other ships arrive, they mean to attack Pondichery. Mutyâlu who was sent to Nâsîr Jang is on his return, and they are arranging to send people to meet him either this side of the Dâmalcheruvu Pass or on his arrival at Arcot.'

If he heard these things, how angry he would be! Indeed his nature is such that one should always tell him his enemies are weak and helpless. But if I were to do so, he would afterwards ask, 'Why did you tell me this? Why did you deceive me?' So, knowing his nature, I appear to mock the enemy and speak lightly of their deeds, giving him the news little by little, that he may thus gradually

learn their strength. But this time he got angry at the very beginning of my story, and rushed into Madame's room before I could tell him all the news. His anger was unspeakable, so I went away, to await a more fitting time to tell him.

Besides this, for the last two months, and for the last month especially, Madame has been regularly sending men to get news from Fort St. David and writing the news in French. So I think I must not take too great an interest in the Fort St. David news or do much in it. I must only make suggestions now and then, for, if I appear too prominent in the matter, Madame will be angry, and I shall profit in neither wealth nor spirit. So I have resolved to have as little to do with it as I can.

Shâhji Râjâ,[1] son of Sarabhôji Râjâ, has sent hither,

[1] Who this man really was is obscure. It will be remembered that Sarabhôji was Râjâ of Tanjore from about 1712 to 1727, that he was succeeded by his brother Tukkôji who reigned till 1735, and was succeeded by his son, Bâvâ Sâhib (or Ekôji). The last named was succeeded by his wife, in 1737. She was driven out, apparently in the same year, by a person calling himself Shâhji. Her chief supporter was called Siddôji; and when the latter defeated Shâhji, Shâhji entered into the well-known negotiations with Dumas which resulted in the French acquiring Kârikal. However Shâhji's party succeeded in driving out Siddôji, and Shâhji apparently continued to reign in Tanjore till he in turn was expelled (or killed) by Pratâb Singh in July 1739. Orme (i. 108) considers Shâhji and Pratâb Singh to have been both sons of Sarabhôji; Duff (ed. 1912, i. 462) says both were sons of Tukkôji; the Tanjore District Manual (p. 775) alleges that there were two princes between Bâvâ Sâhib's wife and Pratâb Singh—one Shâhji, son of Sarabhôji, and the other the 'Syajee' of Duff, son of Tukkôji. I do not know on what evidence this last is based; but I suspect it to be an attempt to reconcile Orme's and Duff's versions. It is moreover not supported by the Memoir which was written by Elias Guillot, Governor of Negapatam, in 1739. This indicates pretty plainly that the prince who drove out Bâvâ Sâhib's wife was the man whom Pratâb Singh drove out. I may further observe that neither

with a letter from M. Le Riche[1] at Kârikâl, Koyâjî Kâttigai, who is son of Sundarôji Kâttigai who was Shâhji Râjâ's maternal grandfather. Koyâjî Kâttigai reached Arumpâtai Pillai's Choultry, whence he sent his gumasta with the letter, that I might speak about the matter to the Governor. I did so, saying that if we made Koyâjî a daily allowance and would fulfil his desire, he would come into the town; otherwise he would return. The Governor said he would see about it. So to-day I said, 'It is [ ] days since Koyâjî Kâttigai arrived; he has no money and I have had to advance him 10 pagodas. If he is sent away now without anything being done for him, he should be given 100 pagodas for his expenses.'—'But why should I give him anything?' the Governor asked.—I answered, 'If we do not give, no one else will.'—'But,' he asked, 'what use can he be to us?' I said I could not tell until I

Orme nor Duff appear to be right. Orme was certainly wrong in calling Pratâb Singh, son of Sarabhôji; and Duff is opposed by all the authorities I am acquainted with in calling 'Syajee', son of Tukkôji, provided that 'Syajee' is to be identified with Shâhji. The Dutch Memoir already cited is strongly in favour of this identification, and the Dutch were exceedingly well informed on Tanjore affairs. I take it then that the Shâhji who reigned from 1737 to 1739 claimed to be a son of Sarabhôji; whether he was or not I cannot pretend to decide, nor yet whether the person whose uncle visited Pondichery was the actual prince who reigned. Guyon says that Pratâb Singh stifled his rival in a bath of milk; but Guyon's authority on such a point does not count for much; and I think it probable that the man who now was approaching Dupleix and who at the close of the year 1748 was to visit Fort St. David with more success, was the Shâhji who had reigned over Tanjore.

[1] The letter is dated October 29, 1747 It is a mere letter of introduction. [*P.R.—No. 83.*]

had spoken with him. 'Very well,' he said, 'have him brought into the town.'

So I sent Annapûrna Ayyan and Sadâsiva Ayyan to Arumpâtai Pillai's Choultry to bring him in, and he was lodged in Chinnayya's house in the Brâhman Street. When I went there to speak with him, he said, 'If you will pay my expenses and settle the affair, I will write down what we want and what we can do for you; and I will send for Shâhji Râjâ, Sarabhôji Râjâ's son.' I told him to have it all ready written to-morrow, and came home.

As the ten days' festival is finished at the Church Kanakarâya Mudali built at Olukarai, the image of the Helping Mother was brought back to St. Paul's Church in procession with torches, fireworks and music.

The Governor to-day ordered me to send suitable presents to the poligars of Vêttavalam and Udaiyârpâlaiyam. I said I would; but as it was past twelve and all the writers had gone away to eat, I could not get an order for M. Cornet, and so came home, considering that it could be done to-morrow.

Saturday, February 3.[1]—When I went to the Governor's this morning, he had a letter from Madras saying, that the merchants had paid only 8,000 rupees out of the 6,000 pagodas they should pay monthly, and that they said they would pay the rest in four or five days; and that he[2] had not money

[1] 24th Tai, Prabhava. [2] *i.e.*, M. Barthélemy.

enough to pay his people. The Governor was very angry with me about this. I said, 'It is written to me that they have already paid 15,000 rupees, and that they will pay 4,100 rupees, in four or five days. If M. Barthélemy writes thus, what can I say?'—He remarked, 'The gumastas of the Company's merchants must be fools.'—'True, Sir,' I answered; 'they cannot manage matters well.' I then told him that the merchants had been offered at the rate of 23 for the whole of the cotton, but had not accepted it; and that they had then been offered 24 for a hundred candies, but had not agreed and had written to me about it. He said they did not care whether it was sold or not, as he would have to bear any loss. I answered I was sure they did not think of the matter thus. But he was very angry, and said that if there was a loss, he would make them pay for it. I answered suitably, but he continued to talk angrily about it for an hour and a half. I could say little, but with the help of God I answered somehow or other.

He afterwards said, 'You promised to supply a hundred corge of blue cloth; where is it?'—'It is in the Fort,' I replied; 'M. Legou says he will have it baled on Monday; also I have engaged to send in twenty or thirty corge more within the next ten days. I also have coarse cloth ready cured; that too will be baled.'—'Very well,' he said. Then M. Duquesne arrived, and they were engaged together, so, as it was nearly noon, I came home.

Sunday, February 4.[1]—When I went to the Governor's this morning, he told me to write an answer to Imâm Sâhib's letter. I have kept a copy for reference. There is nothing else of importance to be written, for we only spoke of common things not worth mention.

In the afternoon, Madame Barthélemy went to take leave of the Governor, being about to join her husband at Madras. She set out at four o'clock, with the Councillor, M. Desfresnes, and two writers.

The Governor went out to the camp at Alisapâkkam and returned.

Monday, February 5.[2]—I went to the Fort this morning and saw my blue cloth made up into thirty-one bales. While I was there, the Governor sent for me, so I went and reported that it had been packed.

He showed me a letter which M. Ballay [3] had sent by his dubâsh, saying that the Custom-house writers would not measure paddy, that they were taking bribes for admitting it, and that all the bazaar-people were complaining. I told him the facts and he agreed that it was as I said. I then sent for Alaga Pillai and questioned him, and then I questioned M. Ballay's dubâsh. He said that he wanted to buy 20 pagodas' worth of paddy but was

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[1] 25th Tai, Prabhava. [2] 26th Tai, Prabhava.

[3] Conjectural. Ranga Pillai writes Pâliyô. The person I suppose to be meant was one Lenoir de Ballay, a Company's servant. See *Registre du Cons. Sup.* iii. 150.

not allowed to. Alaga Pillai said, 'He did ask for 20 pagodas' worth of paddy, and we told him it could not be sold in such large quantities, but that he could have a pagoda's worth if he liked. He also wished us to measure it and send it to him, but we said he must measure it and take it away himself.' The Governor then said to the dubâsh, 'You are always telling lies. Are the customs people your servants? If you want a pagoda's worth of paddy, you may go and get it and measure it yourself. But if you want 20 or 30 pagodas' worth, you must fetch it in from outside.' So he sent him away.

Tuesday, February 6.[1]—When I went to the Governor's this morning, he said, 'You have not yet arranged about my present on account of Kûdam Tândavarâya Pillai's place.' I said I would see to it. He also asked whether I had inquired about the affairs of Râmôji who is dead; and I said I would see to that also.

About eleven o'clock there came a letter from M. Friell, saying that it had been agreed to pay 6,000 rupees for the release of the French prisoners, and that they would be set free as soon as that sum was paid. He must have written this letter on the strength of a forged letter that Subbayyan wrote in Venkatanârâyanappa Ayyan's name. On reading M. Friell's letter the Governor was perplexed.

[1] 27th Tai, Prabhava.

'What is all this about?' he said; 'I don't understand it. Read through the letters and explain the matter to me.' I told him that matters had not gone so far as M. Friell thought, but that they were progressing; that the prisoners' fetters had been struck off after the arrival of the matchlock-people; but that this letter was mere fiction and should not be listened to. He said, 'Very well; go through the letters and let me know what should be said.' So I took the letters and came home to eat.

After dinner, while I was reading them, the Governor received a letter from M. de Bury, at the Alisapâkkam camp. It said: 'A European trooper riding to the west of the camp, has given the alarm and reports that he has seen the English forces with their colours advancing from the Southward. I have sent out a hundred European and some other horse and a hundred Mahé sepoys.' On this there was a general alarm. All the troops, and palankin-bearers were sent out to Ariyânkuppam under M. Duquesne. But soon another letter came, with the news that the trooper was in liquor and did not know what he was saying. Then all was quiet again.

I had sent word to Satyapûrnaswâmi that I would visit him at Arumpâtai Pillai's Choultry to-day; and I had made preparations to go. But meanwhile, in consequence of the Sêndamangalam letter and the alarm at Ariyânkuppam, I had to send Parasurâma Pillai instead.

Wednesday, February 7.[1]—This morning I went to M. Cornet at the Fort. I then showed the goods that had arrived from Madras—pieces of silk, red lead and Bengal goods—to Arunâchala Chetti, Tâni Chetti, Muttayya Chetti, Alagappa Chetti, and Vîrâ Chetti. I then took Vîrâ Chetti to the Second, and explained that he had supplied seventeen corge and some odd pieces of long cloth and thirty-five corge and some odd pieces of coarse cloth, which had to be paid for; and I asked that he might be paid for these goods which he had supplied and also for twenty corge of coarse cloth since ordered, saying that it might be met from the money due by the Company's merchants for the goods they have purchased. The Second at once sent for M. Cornet, and told him to write an order to the Company's merchants to pay Vîrâ Chetti 10,000 rupees. I got the order from M. Cornet and gave it to the Company's merchants.

Meanwhile the Governor had sent three peons, one after the other, to fetch me. So, taking leave of the Second and M. Cornet, I went to him. He said, 'Rangappa, have you heard anything about the complaints made by the St. Paul's priests?' When I asked what they were, he answered, 'They say they have a mortgage on the Reddis' lands at Olukarai; that they need the paddy cut there for the expenses of their church and have always received

[1] 28th Tai, Prabhava.

it; but that you say that it is needed by the Company, have had the crop cut by your own people and carried it off. Now they want an order for the delivery of the paddy to them. I asked them whether their bond entitled them to paddy or money; they told me, money only; so I told them they must be content with money. I then asked how they could be justified in saying that they had a mortgage on the Company's lands, and whether anyone had a right to mortgage them; and told them that, if they had lent their money in ignorance of this, they were likely to lose it, and with that I sent them off. But everybody borrows from these people. Even the man who was seized as an English spy at Kirumâmpâkkam owed them money, and they wanted to obtain his release. It seems that there is nobody, in town or out of it, who does not borrow from them.'

I answered, 'True, Sir; but gain is not their only motive. They think their debtors will be humble and obedient, doing everything they say; and so people will think them influential. They wish all who come here on business to look on them as the lords of Pondichery, to believe that they are wealthier than anybody else, and the best to borrow from, and that they can procure employment for their favourites. Besides this, they get their interest as well, and so profit all ways. That is why they act thus. They will listen to any story a man cares to tell them—as we know by experience.'

The Governor agreed with me, and said, 'In Europe everyone knows they are liars and cheats, the fathers of falsehood. Everyone knows it and never believes a word they say. But if it were known that they were money-lenders as well, they would get into trouble. They're a bad set of people. M. Lenoir put them down[1]; but M. Dumas was a less capable man, and in his time they raised their heads again.'

I thought within myself that they were never so powerful as now; but I said, 'Sir, M. Lenoir put them down, and you also are doing the same,' thus flattering him. He answered, 'But M. Dumas, though incapable and powerless, knew how to make money [2].'—I said, 'You could make a hundred times as much as he did; and your glory in overthrowing the subahdar of the province, and driving him back to Arcot, and seizing Madras, has spread to Delhi. It will endure as though written upon stone. Kings and emperors praise your name, saying you have done what they scarcely could do. Nothing in the world is so precious as glory. It dies not, but riches perish.' And to this I added other compliments.

M. Friell was there, and the Governor said to him, 'Who is so wise as Rangappan?' and praised

[1] When Lenoir was Governor, he seems to have cherished a grudge against the Jesuits. See, for example, Cultru, p. 56, where it is said that he forbade mangoes to be carried out of the town because the Jesuits had a good garden and sent presents of mangoes to various Râjâs.

[2] Dumas' fortune, it was said, was largely acquired by corrupt means. See Cultru, pp. 51-52.

me to him. He answered, 'Rangappan does nothing but tell the truth.' While we thus spoke, news came that the English had seized our fishermen in their boats, and this turned the Governor's mind to other matters. Nothing else deserving mention occurred; therefore I write no more.

Thursday, February 8.[1]—As I took physic this morning, I did not go to the Governor's; however he sent me a Portuguese letter which he had received from Manoel da Cunha at Chêtpattu with a French translation. I read it. He offers to bring the twenty-five soldiers already promised and asks that our merchants and the Brâhman there may be told to give him the money he needs. He says the troubles he is undergoing from the Muhammadans are indescribable, and, prostrating himself at the Governor's feet, begs leave to come away, with other compliments. This letter did not make it necessary for me to go to the Governor, as it can be discussed to-morrow.

At eleven the Governor sent me by Appu Mudali a diamond to be valued. So I sent for Munjanûr Perumâl Chetti, Chinna Perumâl Chetti, and Uttirâ Peddu Chetti, and showed it them. It weighed at 5¼ manjâdis.[2] Munjanûr Perumâl Chetti valued it at 80 pagodas a manjâdi; the other two at

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[1] 29th Tai, Prabhava.

[2] A *manjâdi* is the seed of the *Adenanthera pavonina*, and is apparently identical with the *mangelin* of Tavernier. (See Tavernier's *Voyages*, Ball's ed., i. 418.) If one may assume the average weight of 4·18 grs. Troy there cited, the diamond weighed about 7·7 carats.

100 pagodas. They said a diamond of that size, if of good colour and unflawed, would be worth 150 pagodas a manjâdi. I then sent the diamond back by Appu Mudali, telling him to report the different estimates.

To-day letters were written to Bhagavan Dâs and Venkatanârâyanappa Ayyan at Seringapatam; and a bill for 2,000 rupees on Chinnarâya Chetti at Salem was obtained from Guntûr Bâlu Chetti. Bâlu Chetti's man, Sinnângutti Chetti, was sent with a peon to get the money at Salem and carry it to Seringapatam.

To-day I felt much better in consequence of the physic. The house next mine to the south being ready, and as there was a cot there, I slept in it. At night I remained there for about three-quarters of an hour, and then went to sleep on the back-verandah.

To-day I sent writer Venga Pillai to speak with the people of Alisapâkkam and to see the crops cut. However Pichchai Goundan had cut eight cawnies by night, without the writer's knowledge and had carried off the paddy. He had also ploughed the ground ready for another crop. Vengappan, seeing this, demanded the paddy, but the villagers got four of Malayappan's peons from Ayyâ Tambi, and said they had reported the matter to M. de Bury who was camping at Muttirusa Pillai's Choultry. They so terrified Vengappan with their threats that he ran away and hid.

As soon as I heard of this, I at once sent Malayappan with four or five peons. They seized and brought before me the head men, Nârâyana Reddi, Venkatapati Reddi, and Pichchai Goundan, together with three of the guilty peons. I directed them to be put in prison for the night, and it was done.

Friday, February 9.[1]—When I went to the Governor's this morning, I returned to him the Portuguese letter from Manoel da Cunha at Chêtpattu with the French translation. I also produced a Telugu letter I had received from there. It said, 'If the sowcar is willing to stand surety and pay the money when he hears the men have reached Pondichery, it may be done; otherwise tell our people to return.' I wrote accordingly to Rajôba and Kâviral Venkatêsa Chetti.

I then told him what the Alisapâkkam Reddis and Malayappan's peons had done and that I had had them put in prison yesterday. He said they should be treated as they deserved. I proposed that the peons should receive twenty-five stripes each and be turned out of the limits and that the Reddis should be released when they brought the paddy which they had carried off. He approved.

Then he went to Dharma Chetti's house to attend the ceremony of Sîmantham.[2] On his return,

[1] 1st Mâsi, Prabhava.

[2] A ceremony performed during the sixth or eighth month of the wife's pregnancy.

he ordered Malayappan's three guilty peons and the Reddis to be brought from the prison. The peons received twenty-five stripes each in the Reddis' presence and were then turned out of the limits; and the Reddis were sent back to prison.

This morning fifty military were sent to Kûnimêdu and returned in two masula-boats as though coming from the north. They made holes in the sides of the boats to fire through, and fitted them with covers. When they were nearly opposite my Choultry, the English ship lying off Nainiya Pillai's Choultry sent a long boat with some Europeans and sepoys to seize the masula-boats. The English kept quiet till they got near, and then fired twice. Our people immediately pulled off the covers and fired a volley which killed eleven men in the long boat. They at once made off for the ship, and on their way met another which was coming to their help. Both boats reached the ship. The French returned here; one man was killed by a bullet through the breast and one was wounded. The news from Fort St. David confirms the report that eleven English were killed. They were altogether deceived. They thought the boats were Tamil boats, and so fell into the trap.

At three o'clock at night the English came in three long boats from Fort St. David with barrels of gunpowder. They scattered it over the northern grabs and the sloop—five vessels in all—that were in the roads, and then set fire to them. One could see

the burning vessels for some time; at last two sank where they were, and the others, their cables being burnt, drove south for about three miles and then sank also. I will give later the value of the ships and of their cargoes.

Saturday, February 10.[1]—At ten o'clock this morning the powder-magazine on the west of the town blew up. Two people were killed; two were so injured that they cannot recover; and nine more were hurt, but these, they say, will survive.

Wednesday, February 14.[2]—When I was at the Governor's this morning nothing of importance happened. In the afternoon, as the troops were being exercised, I went to see them. The Governor who had been watching from upstairs, came down, and seeing me sitting near the armourer's shop, came up and asked me whether I had seen all the military stores. I said I had, and added that they cost a great deal of money. He said it was true, but that the Company had to pay heavily for a good many things, and one had to act according to the times. I then complimented him, saying, 'True, Sir, and but for your care and attention, three or four times as much would have been spent by now, and they would have gone on spending at the same rate for three or four years more,' and I praised him yet further.

[1] 2nd Mâsi, Prabhava.

[2] 6th Mâsi, Prabhava. The date in the MS. is February 16, and has been corrected in the text.

While we were thus speaking, he went into the workshop, and said, 'Look at this. This is the eighteen-pounder that has come from Madras.' I replied, 'They say there are twenty-four pounders also at Madras; are they not also coming?' He said that ten or twelve had come already and been mounted on the sea-wall, that some had been carried off by M. de La Bourdonnais, and that others were still at Madras. 'When M. Dulaurens went there, how shamefully he behaved,' he added.

I gave him M. Lucas' receipt for 2,857 rupees. After looking over it, he asked where M. Lucas was; I said he had gone to Cuddapah. He told me to get the money from M. Cornet, and I said I would.

Then he said, 'I told you that the Arumpâtai's son had applied for Tândavarâya Pillai's place; but you said Parasurâma Pillai would be disappointed if it were given to him, and that you would arrange for a larger present. When are you going to settle the matter?' I promised to get it done soon.

He then said that two hundred bullocks from Madras were expected here with some goods, and asked if they would be of any use. I said they would be as they were northern cattle. 'Very well,' he said, 'you can use them for carts and so on.' I told him it should be done.

Then he said, 'Write to M. Lucas and tell him not to buy any more wheat. We have bought

2,000 bags from a merchant at Madras.' I promised to do so.

Then we walked on, talking, till we came to his house. He said, 'The Fort St. David people are mean fellows. If they were men they would come and attack us. But instead of that, they can only burn a few wretched boats. That shows what they are.' I replied, 'The lion will break in pieces an elephant's head; but a dog gnaws bones and pieces of skin. Men like you attack great fortresses—Madras, Fort St. David, Cuddalore. But they can't do more than burn boats or pick up catamarans, and then run away.' He went in smiling. As he was going upstairs, he said, 'You have had a long walk and your leg will be hurting you. You had better go and rest instead of coming up with me.' So I took leave of him and went to my nut-godown. There I wrote to M. Lucas telling him to buy no more wheat; and I wrote also to my bazaar. I sent the letters off by a peon and came home at half-past nine.

Thursday, February 15.[1]—This morning the Governor's door was shut and they said he was dressing, so I went to my nut-godown and stayed there. M. Friell sent for me and gave me a petition in English stating that eight vessels had been run ashore or burnt and giving an estimate of the loss suffered thereby. He told me to get it signed by

[1] 7th Mâsi, Prabhava.

the merchants from the northward.[1] I took it and went back to my nut-godown.

Then the Governor sent a peon for me. I went in by the backway and found him dressed and writing letters. Seeing him thus engaged with the outer door shut, I thought that something must be going forward and that he was laying some secret plans. Thinking thus, I went in to him. He asked, 'How many bullock-loads of paddy have come in?' I read the Choultry account to him, and he was annoyed that so little had arrived. Then he asked whether the people from the northward had signed the petition. I said they had. He answered, 'It will not matter then if they go away.' I made no answer, and he told me to go and wait outside, so I went to writer Ranga Pillai's office and stayed there.

Meanwhile Madame wrote a letter and gave it to the Governor, and they talked together for half an hour. Then he sent for M. Legou. On his arrival, the Governor said, 'I didn't send for you; it must have been a mistake;' and so sent him away.

Then he called me, and said, 'Some of the chief merchants here are sending news to Fort St. David.

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[1] This seems to have been in connection with an appeal to Arcot, though I cannot guess why it was translated into English, unless a copy was sent to Fort St. David. Sampâti Râo wrote to the English asking that the merchants should be compensated. *Madras Country Correspondence*, 1748, pp. 25–26. *N.B.*—The English answer is No. 65, *ibid.* See below p. 380.

What can they get by this? What interest have they? What can they gain by it? They told the Madras merchants not to come and settle here; and what has been the result? They deserted the town for fear of Mahfuz Khân's people plundering it; and the little that was left was seized by the French. They were bound to lose, whatever happened. The merchants who remove their goods from here will suffer in just the same way.' I answered, 'Sir, those who act thus will certainly be ruined. No doubt a few have removed their goods, and I have reported it to you now and then.' Then I abused them and said, 'If Europeans themselves remove their goods, we need not ask what the Tamils are doing. But God has given you all wisdom; that you may win glory he has made others fools; you should not grieve for them, but rather rejoice at your own lot. But those who wrote from here [ ].'

Friday, February 16.[1]—This morning, a Court-martial of officers was held to try six soldiers who deserted the detachment at Muttirusa Pillai's Choultry. I stopped at the nut-godown, and saw the Company's merchants whom I sent for yesterday that I might inquire into the Governor's complaint about sending news to Fort St. David; they had replied that, as Sankara Ayyan had a headache, they could not come but would come to-day.

[1] 8th Mâsi, Prabhava.

When I was told they had come, I went and said to them, 'The Governor told me yesterday that you have been sending news to Cuddalore, and that you are creating needless alarm in the town; all people are trying to carry their goods out, asking why other people's goods should remain here when yours have been sent out. Why do you alarm the people without cause? Unless there is news, you should not act thus.' The Company's merchants replied, 'From the time that the Company settled here, we have for generations served it; we and our ancestors have earned our living under it, and so have kept the blood in our bodies. Our sons are its sons, and so were our fathers. Since it is so, if we betray the Company we shall thereby lose our livelihood and suffer misery, and yet more misery. If we had ever done anything so ungrateful, we should not be as prosperous as we are. We have never thought of doing such a thing. On the contrary we have always prayed that this town might grow in greatness, and that our lord the Governor might gain glory and victory, and that our lord's enemies might be put to shame, and their town taken by him. Our prosperity shows that we have thus prayed; else we should be poor.' They further declared on their credit that they had caused no alarm. I said, 'Oh, you can only say that you have given no news to Fort St. David; and add piously that if you had done so, evil had befallen you.' They answered,

'You should not think this. Our consciences bear us witness that we have committed no treachery; if we have, we and our children may be hanged, and we shall rejoice ten thousand times if our property be seized. We will sign a paper to that effect; and you may punish us if witness can be brought to prove the matter. But if any are found to have accused us wrongfully, they should be punished.' They said this with some warmth. I answered, 'You grow indignant, but you say nothing about removing your goods.' They said, 'If we thought this no safe place for our goods, should we each have five or ten thousand pagodas' worth of goods here—have we desired to remove them?' I replied, 'True; but you have removed your own goods and families and children, thinking that the goods here are for the Company and that, if the times mend, they will not be hurt and otherwise you can say they have been stolen.' They could find no answer, but smiled uneasily. I told them angrily that if they did not bring back their goods and families, they would experience the Governor's displeasure. I then arranged with them to pay 19,200 rupees at Madras and so dismissed them.

I then inquired what the Governor was doing. I heard that of the six soldiers one had been sentenced to be sent to Muttirusa Pillai's Choultry and hanged in the presence of the detachment there and that the rest had been condemned to the King's

galleys.[1] It was eleven when the Governor came out after passing sentence. As it was too late to go to him, I came home about twelve

This evening I went to my nut-godown; and, when the Governor came back from his drive, he sent for me to come upstairs to him. He said, 'The people sent to Âlankuppam for chunam have brought altogether only 7 parrahs[2]; the new gun-carriages and ammunition carts are drawn by only one mule, and will carry a parrah; but these carts are drawn by two bullocks, and they have two spare bullocks besides. If they bring only 7 parrahs like this, what should be done to the bullock-men? Four were sent and only two have come back. What has become of the others?' I said I had heard that they had gone to Ariyânkuppam with their carts. He said, 'Then these two bullock-men should be tied up and whipped.' Just then, M. Duquesne arrived from the camp at Muttirusa Pillai's Choultry and reported that he had hanged the European. He also said that Malayappan's fifty peons (who are employed as messengers) were complaining that they had not been paid. 'How is that?' the Governor asked. I replied, 'They only sent the money to-day and the peons will have been paid by now.' 'What!' he exclaimed; 'it is the 16th of

[1] Condemnation to the galleys was the regular punishment for desertion in France. Presumably the men were sent to Europe to serve their sentence.

[2] 1 parrah equals 5 markâls, and the markâl as a rule 12 seers.

the month—is this the right time to pay them?' I explained that Parasurâma Pillai only issued the money on the 12th and that it took two days to give out the pay here; and that the money was sent there to-day. He replied, 'It is sixteen days after the beginning of the month, and they have not been paid. How is that?' and he sent for Parasurâma Pillai and M. Guillard. When the latter came, the Governor spoke to him with indescribable anger. Though M. Guillard explained matters, he flew at him like a tiger, and then started to go downstairs. I was standing near the top of the staircase. When he came near me, he turned to M. Guillard and said, 'I have given you a hot dose of brandy.' M. Guillard answered 'We don't get any brandy now owing to the troubles, and yours is welcome.'[1] He then said to M. Guillard, 'You could very well have told Parasurâman to bring an account of the expenses and then have paid the money. Rangappa, look here. This gentleman says he gave 3,000 pagodas for wages on the 1st. What does the Arumpâtai mean by it?' I said, 'Sir, it has been the Arumpâtai's custom for the last 30 or 40 years to do this, and the payments are made ten days sooner or later.' I sent a message to Parasurâma Pillai to keep away. When he had gone downstairs, I went down step by step and as he was going inside he

[1] No shipping had arrived from France for nearly two years. Each servant of the Company was entitled to an allowance of so much wine and so much brandy a year.

called to me, saying, 'Give those bullock-men ten lashes each and tell them in future to bring full cart-loads.' I said I would do so.

I went back to my nut-godown, and, as I was sitting there, Parasurâma Pillai came. I told him what had happened, and said that perhaps M. Guillard would only pay him in future on the Governor's orders, and that he had better take care; that he had escaped the Governor's anger for the present, but payments would be a difficult matter till the shipping came, when everything would become easy; that as there was little money in the Fort, even this time it was a difficult matter; but it would be all right when the money arrived. He said, 'Very well,' and took his leave.

Then I sent for the bullock-men and warned them that unless they brought full cart-loads in future they would be severely punished. Three quarters of an hour later Vîrarâghava Nâyakkan came in from Muttirusa Pillai's Choultry.

He said, 'The European had a rope tied round his neck, but when the ladder was turned over, the rope broke and he fell on the ground. So he went to the priest who was close by, saying that God had protected him and had forgiven his sins, and so he was saved. The priest answered that his sins were unpardonable. M. Desmarêts[1] overheard this, and, though he thought the priest was a great fool, he

[1] Marc-Antoine Desmarêts was at this time *greffier* of the Council in its judicial capacity.

ordered another rope to be brought and hanged the man again.' The custom is that, should the rope break, the priest who is present should take the criminal under his protection, cover him with his robe, and announce that God has pardoned him for his sins. The priest should declare this also to the officer on duty, saying that God has released the man from the consequences of his crime and he is no longer to be considered guilty; and if the officer refuses to listen, the priest should demand to be hung instead. Though that is the custom, as the priest this time said the man ought to be hung again, the officer on duty had him hanged. But all people, even the Europeans, are abusing the priest.

This morning when I went to the Governor's he was angry because only a few bags of paddy had come in. I said that after the middle of Mâsi [February 23] it would be harvest time all over the country; that little grain was coming in now because harvest was only beginning; but after the middle of Mâsi plenty would be brought. I told him besides that the Wandiwash country which used to be under the management of Muhammad 'Alî Khân, Anwar-ud-dîn Khân's son, had been taken away and given to Munawar-ud-dîn Khân, and so the old amaldârs had been turned out, and it took time for the new ones to get the harvest begun, and that in the Tiruviti country, which is under the same management, there had been a delay of four days. 'Besides,' I said, 'the people who have

cut their crops must carry them here to sell; where else can they go? All the paddy in the country must be brought here.' He thought I was wrong, as the towns-people were trying to buy in many places. After that we spoke for some time about ordinary matters, not worth mention. When it was 12 o'clock, I came home, took an oil bath, had my food and lay down to sleep. After I had waked up, a peon came from the Governor to fetch me. I went accordingly. After I had arrived, the Second came and said that the priests of St. Paul's had got forty bullock-loads of paddy for M. Thongeron,[1] but, instead of entering it in the Choultry books, they had sent it straight to his house, and the bullock-people had taken it there direct. The Governor said, 'How was it that the paddy was not taken first to the choultry?' and he ordered that the paddy should be brought back and placed in the choultry, and the bullock-people be kept at the choultry for six hours and given twenty lashes. The St. Paul's priests heard of this, and went to the Second, with complaints of being thus treated, and begged that the bullock-people should be let off the beating. When the Second reported this to the Governor, he said, 'The St. Paul's priests seem to think they govern the town; they disregard us; their behaviour deserves no consideration.' So he sent word to M. Delarche to have the bullock-people

[1] I cannot identify this name but I suspect a copyist's error for 'Dulaurens.'

beaten at once. He gave them ten lashes and sent them off. When this was reported to the Governor, and while the Second was still there, I went and salaamed. He asked whether any paddy had been brought into the bazaar. I said that about 300 bullock-loads had come in, and plenty would be brought after Monday. Then he asked how much grain the Company had received from the out-villages. I said that 40 or 50 garse were ready, that M. Cornet had received about 15 garse; and that the rest would arrive gradually, as it was being carried in by coolies. Afterwards when the Governor was ready to go out in his palankin, he sent a chobdar to me to say he wished to speak to me.[1] I said, 'Very well.' Finally the Second went home and I went to my nut-godown. When the Governor came back at eight, he sent for me and said, 'They say you are stopping grain from coming into the town.' I replied, 'The grain that is brought in is worth 4 lakhs of pagodas, and the money is sent to the dîwân. How can I stop the grain or find 4 lakhs of pagodas? Besides, what profit should I make by stopping the import? Will the Nawâb of Arcot do as I wish? Or can I give orders to send or stop the grain as I please? But I think you know the truth of the matter. We have a proverb, a crow that sits on a heap of gold will turn yellow. Since I serve you, Anwar-ud-dîn Khân must obey me—so they say in

[1] Dupleix' orders seem to have been omitted from the text.

Pondichery. Since you say so too, I think I am destined to enjoy great power—at least that is implied, by your words.' He smiled and said, 'I know that they are only complaining out of malice. In spite of their complaints, no doubt you will become a great man.' I answered, 'If I did anything to stop grain coming into the town, I should be betraying the Company. Such unfounded charges are often made, and since there seems no end to them, you should inquire into the matter carefully, and punish me if I am guilty or my accusers if I am innocent, so that people may learn the truth. Then only shall I enjoy peace of mind; otherwise I shall never be at ease.' At all this he only smiled, and said, 'It is a ridiculous matter and had best be ignored.'

Sunday, February 18.[1]— This morning the Governor and his wife went to Muttirusa Pillai's Choultry, and took dinner there. Afterwards as a jest he said that the English were marching to attack us; then he came back here. Nothing else has happened worth mention; this evening Razâ Sâhib, Chandâ Sâhib's son, who had been to Wandiwash, returned here.

Monday, February 19.[2]— This morning when I went to the Governor's, he was sitting down after his coffee. I went and salaamed and stood beside him. He asked, 'Has plenty of paddy come in?'

[1] 10th Mâsi, Prabhava.

[2] 11th Mâsi, Prabhava.

I said, 'As yesterday was Sunday, none came in, but much will come to-day.' M. Law came and reported that Malayappan's peons were grumbling about not receiving their pay. The Governor turned to me and said angrily, 'What! Am I to hear the same complaint every day?' I replied, 'It is not so, as you will learn if you will inquire carefully.' Then he asked M. Law who had told him so. He said, 'I have a peon who makes inquiries among the sepoys and peons— he told me.' The Governor grew very angry, and said, 'Why should we have to keep peons and pay writers besides Rangappa's people?' He was so angry that he left the room. I also went quietly out.

To-day a letter came from our Vakîl at Arcot. He says:—'Mutyâlu Nâyakkan, who went to Nâsîr Jang's camp on behalf of the English, has spent 3 lakhs of rupees in money and presents without getting anything, and has now reached Cuddapah; and having no money he has borrowed two or three thousand pagodas from two Pathâns, E'ânat Khân and Zâkir Khân, who were put out of the Navâits' service on Nizâm-ul-mulk's orders; he has taken them into service with 200 horse.[1] Nawâb Anwar-ud-dîn Khân, Sampâti Râo and Munawar-ud-dîn Khân are speaking of it publicly and saying that the English have lost their good fortune and their

[1] This report is much more correct than most. Mutyâlu hired 300, not 200, horse; and advanced 3,000 rupees, not pagodas. He borrowed the latter from a shroff, not from the Pathâns. *Country correspondence*, 1748, pp. 9–10.

wits together, for they have spent money to no purpose, and now are spending more on hiring Pathâns at Cuddapah, ruining themselves by a vain expense that will produce nothing. Thus they jest over it. Morâri Râo, son of Siddôji Gorpadê, who came with 3,000 horse against Venkatagiri Fort, and drove out the poligar, has taken possession of it, and the Maratha horse have plundered all the Sâtghar country (except a few villages), Zain-ud 'Alî Khân's jaghir (near Ambûr), Vâniyambâdi and the Vellore country. So the people at Arcot and Lâlâpêttai are alarmed and perplexed, for fear of the Maratha horse, having no place of refuge on the coast to fly to, owing to the troubles between the French and the English. So they know not what to do. In consequence of this inroad, Nawâb Anwar-ud-dîn Khân has ordered 2,000 horse to be taken into service, and up to now they have hired a hundred. The merchants have carried their goods at Lâlâpêttai into Arcot Fort.'

I reported this to the Governor and then came home. In the afternoon nothing happened worth mention. Appu Mudali came and said that arrangements must be made to store the paddy, that will come in to-morrow, in heaps covered with straw.

Tuesday, February 20.[1]—This morning I went to the Governor and reported that over 500 bullock-loads of paddy came in yesterday. After staying

[1] 12th Mâsi, Prabhava.

for a while in writer Ranga Pillai's office I came home. Nothing important happened to-day.

Wednesday, February 21.[1]— This morning I went to the Governor and reported that 725 bullock-loads of paddy and 57 bullock-loads of rice came in yesterday. I stayed in writer Ranga Pillai's office till twelve and then came home. As I had many accounts to complete, they occupied me till midnight at home here.

To-day I sent the northern man, Venkatapati Nâyakkan, to Arcot in a dhooly with a peon, to complain to Nawâb Anwar-ud-dîn Khân about the burning of the boats and sloop.

Thursday, February 22.[2]—This morning when I went to the Governor, I reported the Choultry news, and then interpreted Anwar-ud-dîn Khân's reply of thanks for the guavas, as well as letters from Zain-ud 'Alî Khân and Sampâti Râo. I told the Governor a letter had been written and despatched to Raghôji Bhônsla. Then M. Cornet came and complained that the paddy from the out-villages was not coming in. I interposed and said, 'You are mistaken in this; paddy is coming in daily.' He answered, 'No, I am sure none has arrived.' When I gave examples, he was silent. Then the Governor asked, 'Why have not the Company's merchants brought their New Year's presents? Tell them to do so quickly.' By this time it was noon and I came

[1] 13th Mâsi, Prabhava.

[2] 14th Mâsi, Prabhava.

home. This afternoon nothing happened worth writing down.

Friday, February 23.[1]—When I went to the Governor's this morning, he asked me, 'How many bullock-loads of paddy have come in?' I told him, 454 loads of paddy, 53 loads of rice, and 73 loads of cumbu. I also said that plenty of maize had arrived. He then said, 'Is there plenty of grain in the bazaar?' I answered that no grain had come in yet. He said, 'The Tamils are just like that; if they lack something for a day they make a fuss; but if there is plenty they put off buying.' I said, 'You know there are false charges made against me, and how many I have to defend myself against, and that all my days are spent in reporting to you the complaints that are made and in explaining them, so that I have no time to attend to my business. Besides, if I am kept thus in anxiety day and night, how can I turn my mind to other things? Be pleased to inquire whether the complaints are true or not. Let either me or my accusers be punished, else be sure that business will be hindered.' He answered, 'Don't I know all about that? They speak evil about me daily; do you think that they will hesitate to speak evil of you, if only out of envy? People always complain of those who hold high posts, and, according to our scriptures, you will be the more blessed.' He spoke more also to the like effect,

[1] 15th Mâsi, Prabhava.

which, if I were to write it, would hardly be believed, predicting for me good fortune and prosperity, adding, 'You need not worry about these things. See if you can recover the 10,000 rupees that Khân Bahâdûr owes you and the amount that he owes me. Bear that in mind and see to it.' I said, I would do so. Then, I told him, that when Chandâ Sâhib's son was at Wandiwash, Taqî Sâhib, Safdar 'Alî Khân's wife and others urged him to send for Chandâ Sâhib's wife, Dost 'Alî Khân's wife and others from Pondichery, that they meant to go away when they had paid what they owed him and me, and that I had learnt this from Khân Bahâdûr. He said, 'Well, we shall see.' Then, I came home.

Saturday, February 24.[1]—This morning as M. Legou and M. Cornet had sent for me to the Fort, I went; but M. Legou was absent and I saw only M. Cornet. He said, 'I and M. Legou sent for you, but M. Legou has gone away. Are the ten corge of long cloth you sent just now on my account or his?' I answered, 'Both you and M. Legou have asked for cloth on the Company's account; it does not matter who takes it.' I then referred to the receipt given by M. Lucas for 2,857 rupees and to the sum of 318 pagodas 10½ fanams which he still owed. Regarding the latter, I observed, 'We have paid him more than 2,900 rupees for the 4,000 rupees' worth of wheat purchased by

[1] 16th Mâsi, Prabhava.

him, about 1,000 rupees are still due and may be set against what he owes, and the balance may be paid to him.' I then asked him for payment in cash, or for a note to the merchants, for the sum of 2,500 and odd pagodas, deducting the value of the unbleached Dutch cloth,[1] the cloth nine kâls wide, and the coarse soldier's cloth already delivered. He answered that he would look into the accounts, strike the balance, and, if he had money enough, he would send it to me. Meanwhile, as two or three people had been sent by the Governor to fetch me, I had to go in haste, so I took leave and went.

What occurred at the Governor's was as follows:— He asked how much paddy had been brought in to the bazaar. I told him 610 bullock-loads. Then I reported that it had been proclaimed by tom-tom in Cuddalore that King's ships were expected with 10,000 military, not under the Company's orders, and that therefore the people would do well to send away their women and children, and only men [ ].[2]

Monday, February 26.[3]—This morning, I sent Vîrarâghavan with M. Lucas' receipt for 2,857 rupees to M. Cornet, to get the pagodas as arranged yesterday. He sent a message back that the receipt was incorrect and that he could not pay without the Governor's orders. I went to the Fort to speak to

[1] I take this to be the 'Guinées sorte hollandaise' mentioned *e g.*, in *Délib. du Cons. Sup.* iii, 26.

[2] I have found no confirmation of this in the English records.

[3] 18th Mâsi, Prabhava.

him about it. There I found M. Cornet, M. Legou, M. Lemaire, and a priest of the Capuchins' Church whose name I do not know. On seeing me, M. Cornet said to the Second, 'Ranga Pillai has come to ask for his money. He says the receipt he has got from M. Lucas is for 2,857 rupees; but it only says that 857 have been advanced on account of 2,000 rupees.' He asked M. Lemaire to read the receipt. He took and read it, and said it was really so. I took the receipt from him and explained it to them, and then M. Lemaire agreed and said I was right; the Second and the Padre also agreed that 2,857 rupees was right. Then the Second said to M. Cornet, 'Your objections are useless and frivolous; you had better pay.' He then said he would pay to-morrow, and asked how many garse of paddy had arrived from the out-villages. I said, thirty-six. 'When will the rest come?' he asked. I explained that it was being brought in daily. Then I salaamed to M. Dulaurens and M. Delarche who had just come. I said to M. Delarche, 'You have already seen M. Lucas' receipt; M. Cornet has objected to it, but I have convinced him, and he has agreed to pay it.' Then M. Delarche asked whether Muttu Mallâ Reddi had any property here. I professed ignorance and said, 'He used to have some but I do not know whether he has any here now.' He said that Muttu Mallâ Reddi had written to ask that his goods here might be sent to him, and that he had replied, desiring a

list of the goods to be shown to the Governor. While he was speaking of other matters, M. Dulaurens and M. Cornet came out onto the verandah. M. Dulaurens asked if I had ordered three garse of paddy to be delivered at Alisapâkkam. I told him that I had given the order at once and that his people had gone for it. I added, 'You said that what M. Desvoeux owed me for broad-cloth had been transferred to the accounts of M. Nicholas[1] and the others concerned; it is a long standing debt; please procure its payment.' He replied angrily, 'Why do you ask for it here? Can you not come to my house and ask for it?' I said, 'Sir, till now I have not spoken to you about it in anyone's hearing, but only when you were alone; and you have just spoken about it before M. Cornet and M. Delarche.'[2] He then said in their hearing, 'When I wrote for the money he never sent any; what I said to you must have referred to his private account.' On that M. Delarche asked M. Dulaurens, 'Does M. Soude[3] still owe Ranga Pillai any money?' M. Dulaurens said that he still owed four or five thousand pagodas, and turning to me asked if I would not offer five per cent. commission for the recovery of the money. I said so that all could hear, that I would. M. Dulaurens said, 'He will

[1] He was a Sous-Marchand and under-bookkeeper.

[2] Apparently the reference to paddy at Alisapâkkam must somehow refer to Desvœux' debt, or else we must suppose something to have dropped out of the text.

[3] The name is conjectural.

enter so much damaged by wet and so forth.'—'If he says so without reason,' I answered, 'none will agree to it. He must bring some proof.'—'That is true,' he said. Then he went away. M. Cornet said, 'Come to me when you leave the Governor's.' I said I would. When he also had gone, M. Delarche said, 'You had better present a petition to the Council, asking for an order that your debt be paid out of any money due to M. Desvoeux.' I said I would do so. Then we talked together of other things.—M. Delarche said boastfully, 'Muruga Pillai is a clever man, and I will take the first opportunity to get rid of Lazar and employ him instead.' Then he said Alagappa Mudali was also a clever man, honest and trustworthy, and so forth. Then he went into M. Trullet's shop, and when he had come out again, I also bought some packets of paper and went to the Governor's.

As the Governor had been at a ball last night he stayed in bed till eleven. I went and waited at my nut-godown. Then he sent for me. He said, 'I hear an Englishman has gone to Arcot from Sadras to buy horses.[1] Write to our Vakîl at Arcot and to the merchants there about it.' I said if I had known of it before I would have written to prevent any being sold to the English; but as I did

[1] I have found no other reference to this. Mutyâlu, however, was commissioned to buy horses at Arcot. He bought three and then the merchants raised the price against him. *Country Correspondence*, 1748, p. 20.

not know what had happened I would write and find out. Then I came home for my food.

This evening the Governor sent for me and told me about a letter from Kârikâl, that the arrival of Kâttigai here was known at Tanjore, as well as his allowance of 5 chakrams a day. He ordered them to be sent away.[1] I said 'It is true, Sir. They would not keep quiet, till their business was settled. They have worried Nâyaka Tambirân; and so matters have become public,' and I explained that it was not my fault. The Governor answered, 'What does it matter? Tell them to go away for the present,' and gave a pass for them. He again called me and said, 'See that you don't hide them somewhere here and pretend to me that they have gone.' I said, 'How could it be done, Sir? I would never do a thing like that. I know what it would be.' 'True,' he answered; 'but I said so lest you should think you could not send them away, since you had given them your promise.' I answered, 'I would never do so;' and sent to the people at once, directing them to get ready for their departure. They were receiving for their expenses first five chakrams and then four—and at that rate I had batta for them for four or five days more which I

[1] The cause of Dupleix' dismissal of Kâttigai is probably to be found in the political conditions of the time. When a large English fleet was expected, it would have been unwise to provoke the Râjâ of Tanjore. In the previous year, when the question of Shâhji was first raised, Le Riche had observed the times were not suitable for such an enterprise. *Le Riche to Dupleix*, September 24, 1747. (*P.R.—No.* 83).

gave them. So I sent them away at half-past three, after I had got the gates opened. It was the Carnival to-day. To-day was the Sivarâtri festival.[1]

This evening at seven o'clock Kâlavây Kumara Pillai came, and said he had been sent by Appu Mudali with a message as follows :—

'This afternoon at four Madame said to Appu Mudali before Varlâm and head-peon Muttu, "You are a great rascal; you tell all my secrets to Ranga Pillai. You get news from Varlâm and carry it straight to him. You also plotted to poison Varlâm. You pimp for him and give him drugs to make him talk and let out secrets, so you get news and carry it at once to Rangappa. Up till now I have spent nearly 3,000 rupees on getting reliable news for the Governor from Porto Novo and Fort St. David; and have taken much trouble over it, and have got some extremely important information; but you are always trying to get it out of Varlâm so that you may tell Ranga Pillai. Then he comes and reports it as his own, so all my trouble is wasted. You are a thief; Arunâchala Chetti is a thief; so are seven or eight others, who are leagued with you to steal whatever you want in the town. I will have all these things looked into, and tell the Governor, and have you given a lesson. What business have you here? Go home." Appu Mudali answered, "Am I to go for your orders? If the Governor

[1] The night preceding the February new moon, kept as a vigil in honour of Siva.

tells me, I will go." Madame said, "Very well! we shall see; everything will come to light. Up till now Rangappan has imprisoned many as spies, but it's nothing but a pretence. I know all about it, and so does the Governor. He will inquire into it." Appu Mudali also said to Madame, "Varlâm is not a child. Let him say to my face what secrets he has told me; let whichever of us lies be taught a lesson."'

I sent as a reply, 'Only the man with a heavy purse fears thieves. Let her report matters to the Governor and let him inquire into the truth of the matter.'

Tuesday, February 27.[1]— This morning the Governor sent for me, and said, 'Write letters to Pratâb Singh, Râjâ of Tanjore, and Manôji Appâ[2] saying, "We thought Shâhji was dead,[3] and are astonished to hear that you have written to M. Paradis, the chief of Kârikâl, to say that the old Râjâ Sarabhôji's son, Shâhji the late tyrannous Râjâ, has been kept in Pondichery; it surprises us as much as if a dead man had come to life again. We could get no advantage from helping him; and so why should we concern ourselves with so unlucky a man? We only concern ourselves with our own affairs, and don't interfere with strangers. Why should we undertake such a

[1] 19th Mâsi, Prabhava.

[2] At this time Pratâb Singh's chief minister. In later years he was the chief advocate of the English alliance at the Tanjore Court.

[3] See p. 350 ante.

thing? Up to now, whom have we helped? and what has made you suspect we had helped any one? We are even more surprised that, though our behaviour is well known to you, you should write thus. You are ruler of a country. We value your friendship and desire your prosperity. You know these things well. It astonishes us more and more that you should write thus. Do not believe those who tell false tales in your ears. Else trouble will arise in the country.'

Three letters were thus written to the aforesaid persons and were sent to M. Paradis with copies for him to see. Also there was sent enclosed, a letter written to Râjâ Pratâb Singh by Ânandâji Gorpadê (who has been here for the last four or five days in our service with twenty-two horse) explaining the facts as follows :—' You are said to suspect that Shâhji Râjâ has taken shelter in Pondichery. This is not true. I have been here for some days and I am not ignorant of what happens in this place.' The letter concluded with other boasting words. All these letters were put together, addressed to M. Paradis, and were sent to Kârikâl as was directed. When I was about to return from the Governor's he told me to see Tarwâdi and get a bill of exchange on Kârikâl for two thousand crescent pagodas of eight touch. Accordingly I sent Guntûr Bâlu Chetti for the purpose and then came home for my food. At five I took to the Governor the Chetti's bill on Kârikâl and said that, if it was to be sent, M. Bertrand should be

ordered to get the cover ready and then it could go at once. He took the bill of exchange from me and sent for M. Bertrand and told him that he would order two thousand pagodas, the amount of the draft, and fifteen pagodas for the cost of remittance, to be paid to-morrow. I then said, 'Ânandâji Gorpadê,[1] son of Parsôji Gorpadê the elder brother of Siddôji Gorpadê, has been waiting here for the last five or six days with twenty-two horse. I hear he is a big man and has come here because of a domestic quarrel. He should be told plainly that his men can be enlisted at the pay given to the fifty horse lately raised, and that they may remain or depart as they choose.' 'Abd-ul-rahmân who was present was at once ordered to inform Ânandâji Gorpadê that the men might be enlisted from March.[1] The Governor then conversed with the four Frenchmen who have been released from Fort St. David in exchange for the four Englishmen who have been released here. I took leave of him and went to my nut-godown. As their fast will begin to-morrow, they have planned a ball for to-night also. Madame d'Auteuil and her niece, Chonchon,[2] are to appear as Musalmân ladies, so they asked me for some Musalmân jewels set with precious stones; I got some from Chandâ Sâhib's family and others, made out a list of the ornaments and then came home at nine.

[1] Apparently Morâri Râo's cousin.

[2] The pet name of Madame Dupleix' youngest daughter, Marie Vincens, born in 1736.

Afterwards Madanânda Pandit came to my house and said, 'Vêmul Venkatapati Nâyakkan who formerly gave some lands to my mother-in-law has written to me to secure your friendship and has sent you a present of two Tâdpatri sheets. He also asks me to let him know how he should address you in the letters by which he hopes to improve your friendship.' I accepted the sheets and gave pân supârî to the man who had brought them, dismissing him with a promise of a suitable present when he returns to his home.

Wednesday, February 28.[1]—When I went to the Governor this morning, he had an order written for the payment of 2,015 pagodas and gave it me telling me to get the money from the Second—2,000 pagodas for the bill of exchange given by Tarwâdi yesterday for despatch to Kârikâl and fifteen pagodas, for the cost of remittance. I gave the order to Bâlu Chetti and told him to get the money from the Second. I then put the bill of exchange in the cover given me last night, and at once gave it to two of Malayappan's peons, to take to Kârikâl, telling them to start as soon as the gates were opened and to catch up the Chidambaram runners.

To-day was the first day of Lent and also New Moon Day. I came home at half-past eleven after reporting the Choultry news as usual. After I had eaten, I slept a while and in the evening I went out through the north gate to Mînâkshi

[1] 20th Mâsi, Prabhava.

Ammâl's Choultry where I met Annapûrna Ayyan and Vîrâ Nâyakkan. While I was talking with them Vêdamûrti Singâra Âchâriyâr arrived on horseback from Kârvêti with presents and Sêsham Râjâ's compliments on the birth of my son. As soon as he saw me he dismounted and told me that he was bringing me presents from Sêsham Râjâ with congratulations. I thanked him for the Râjâ's kindness and sent him into the town, desiring him to go to my house and promising to follow quickly. A quarter of an hour later I reached my nut-godown whence I came home. At half-past eight Singâra Âchâriyâr gave me the presents of cloths, etc., brought from Râchapâlaiyam together with a cadjan letter from the Râjâ. He also related the news to me. When I had distributed pân supârî among my visitors, and engaged myself for a while in enquiring after the Râjâ's health, I dismissed the Âchâriyâr to his lodging. To-day I feasted Bâlayya's son who had come from Conjeeveram. As desired he came to see me at night. When I had presented him with two yards of white broad-cloth, I told him that the property of the Bommaiyapâlaiyam Mutt had been seized owing to some mismanagement, and desired him to see that the matter was put right at the Darbâr and the property restored to the Mutt. I dismissed him with complimentary words and had my supper. After this I was talking with the Company's merchants till midnight, when they took leave and I went to bed.

Âranda Gorpadê, son of Parsôji the elder brother of Siddôji, was lying at Ella Pillai Mantapam with the twenty-two Maratha horse he had brought with him from Ḳôtâlu, Mulavai, Cuddapah and those parts. As they have been engaged for service in Pondichery, 'Abd-ul-rahmân went this evening to bring them into the fort, but when they came to the barrier on the Pudupâlaiyam road, close to the Bound-hedge, the peons at the barrier refused them entrance and only admitted 'Abd-ul-rahmân and his horsemen. In spite of 'Abd-ul-rahmân's assurances that the Governor had ordered the Marathas to be taken to the fort, the guards at the barrier would not let them enter as they had no passes. 'Abd-ul-rahmân again declared that he was not telling lies but in vain. They said, 'Why should not a thousand people come and ask for admittance, saying that they have the Governor's orders? Are we to admit them all? No, we will not do so unless the Marathas produce written permits.' He thereupon grew angry, dismounted from his horse and tried to push them away. They still resisted and in the struggle his clothes were torn. At last they yielded when he ordered his men to load their carbines and threatened that he would report them to the Governor and get them punished.' Then 'Abd-ul-rahmân led the Marathas to the town gate where he met with a similar resistance from the European guards; but, thinking that he could not force an entrance there as he had done

at the barrier, he at once sent word to the Governor who sent a European horseman to see that they were let in. Thus they found great difficulty in getting into the town. This was the news I heard.

Thursday, February 29.[1]—'Abd-ul-rahmân has reported to the Governor by means of Madame that my people insulted him in the public road by refusing him admittance, pulling his horse down and tearing his clothes. He said that he was ashamed to live in the town any longer, for he had been insulted before strangers who had always held him in great honour; and that now he could never visit their country without dishonour, as they would make light of him and his name. So he demanded either that he should be allowed to depart or that the ears of those who had dishonoured him should be cut off and they themselves be driven out of the bounds. As the Governor's mind had been poisoned with such news, the moment he saw me he asked why 'Abd-ul-rahmân had been thus insulted. I begged him to be so gracious as to hear me patiently for a few moments. He assented, and I then said, 'You have strictly ordered that all on horseback or in palankins should be stopped at the barriers and not admitted till they have shown their passes and given a full account of themselves. Therefore on this occasion the Marathas were stopped; but

[1] 21st Mâsi, Prabhava.

'Abd-ul-rahmân would not listen to the men at the barrier and chose to assault them and forced a way in for the Marathas.' The Governor then reprimanded 'Abd-ul-rahmân and his dubâsh, a lame man, for their having ventured to disobey the order and to take advantage of the guards' weakness. He however answered, 'We never wished to take the Marathas in with us. It was only when my horsemen were not allowed to enter that I attempted to force my way in. Then I was assaulted and put to shame.' The Governor asked me, 'What have you to say to that?' I answered, 'One thing may be said. Were the sepoys interfered with when they passed five or six times to and from the Maratha quarters outside the barrier? This of itself proves that the guards did nothing wrong.' The Governor thought over the matter, and then, desiring to test the truth of my words, sent for the European corporal who happened to have been present. But he declared that he had been asleep and so had seen nothing. The peons and all the Tamils who chanced to have been at the gate were summoned. When they came, they said, 'We showed all marks of respect to 'Abd-ul-rahmân, and explained to him that we should be disobeying our orders if we admitted the Marathas without a pass. On which he said that he had forgotton to get one but that he had the Governor's orders to bring the Marathas in. Then he forced a way through and this caused a scuffle, for which we are not to blame.' When the

Governor had heard all these details, he reflected that 'Abd-ul-rahmân could not be chastised, and replied, 'Neither you nor they were in the wrong, for both were acting according to my orders.' So he dismissed both the parties. But 'Abd-ul-rahmân declared that he would no longer take any passes from me; and Shaikh Ibrâhîm was ordered to admit 'Abd-ul-rahmân's men on production of a pass bearing his Persian seal and six French seals.

MARCH 1748.

Friday, March 1.[1]—A list of presents for Ânanda Râo Gorpadê, son of Parsôji Gorpadê, Siddôji Gorpadê's elder brother, to be got ready by M. Cornet—

Scarlet broad-cloth	8 yards.
A pistol	...
Hungary water	4 flasks.
Imperial water	4 flasks.

To-day 'Abd-ul-rahmân went to the Governor and told him that the Maratha horsemen had come to pay their respects. When I was writing accounts in the room where Ranga Pillai keeps the money, I heard the Governor wanted me. When I went, he asked whether I had settled the Maratha horsemen's pay. I replied that I had settled with them for 15 rupees for each horse and 6 rupees for each trooper, like 'Abd-ul-rahmân's men, with allowances of rice and ghee. He then asked what the leader's pay was; and I said that it had been left for his decision. Shaikh Hasan suggested that it might be the same as the under-jemadars.' The Governor said to me in French that the jemadar would be displeased if the new man received as much as he; and that we must keep him contented for the present. I agreed. Then he desired me to make a list of presents for the Marathas. When I asked

[1] 22nd Mâsi, Prabhava.

what the value was to be, he said, 'I don't know. You can make the list; you know to whom presents must be given.' I at once made the list as written above and got an order to M. Cornet signed by the Governor. Shaikh 'Abd-ul-rahmân begged me to forgive him for yesterday's business. He had already sent a message by Madanânda Pandit, laying himself at my feet, but I will not enter the whole matter in detail lest I should seem to do so out of vanity. He also begged me to continue to issue passes to his people. I replied, with compliments, that I could not do that without fresh orders from the Governor, else there would be complaints. He said, 'I got his permission this morning and he will tell you so if you ask him.' I replied with proper compliments.

Just then M. Cornet brought me back the list of presents saying that everything was ready. I put them in the godown and came home to eat.

At half-past three, Ânanda Râo Gorpadê with his 22 horse waited on the Governor and offered him a half-starved horse as a present; the Governor would not accept it; but gave the following presents :—

Scarlet broad-cloth	8 yards.
Green broad-cloth	8 yards.
Hungary water	4 flasks.

They received the presents and took their leave. The Maratha chief seemed to me the sort of man who would collect cheroot-ends—not a man of good breeding. I cannot believe that he is a nephew of

Siddôji Gorpadê; I am sure he is not, for, if he were really well-bred, he would not behave as he does.

The Governor sent for me at eight this evening; and when I went, I learnt that he had been closeted with Madame. I guessed at once that a spy had seized one of our peons and that was why the Governor had sent for me. I thought that it might be Konda Râjâ Ayyan of Olukarai who had been seized; and so it was, for I saw him standing before the Governor and Madame. As soon as I had salaamed, he told me to ask Konda Râjâ if he had not received pay from Malrâjâ. Madame said, 'It is no use asking him in Ranga Pillai's presence, for he will only contradict what he has already told us.' The Governor at once said angrily, 'Then you must have told me something he did not really say. What you have said till now must be untrue. Your spies are very clever, but I know what is really going on.' She muttered something, but made no answer. The Governor, adding angrily, 'To send and seize innocent persons who are doing their duty! Excellent!,' went to supper, and she followed.

Then I went away to my nut-godown. I do not know what Madame had proposed doing with Konda Râjâ; but the Governor ordered him to be kept at the Nayinâr's house and be set free to-morrow. I begged him to enquire into the false charge and punish whoever was guilty, and said, 'You told me to get information for the Company and I do so; but I will cease to do so as soon as you tell me to.

And now the people who bring me news will be afraid.' But he went in to supper as though he had not heard what I said. I thought to myself:—'He knows Madame's character. He has gone away without answering me because he fears the scandal caused by his acting on her words. He must be bewitched, else he would have chastised her; but he has gone away like a blind man.' I ought to have noted this above, but forgot to.

Sunday, March 3.[1]—This morning the Governor went to Church; and when he returned, all the Europeans and officers came with a petition praying for the release, at whatever cost to the Company, of M. Mainville and the others who were seized by the Mysoreans when on the Company's business. The Governor dismissed them, promising that they should soon be free. He then sent for me and scolded me for not having already secured their release. I said, 'Our letters have been effectual and they will soon be at liberty; a small ransom was demanded, but that has been settled and sent.' There is no other news worth writing.

[*Monday*] *March 4.*[2]—This morning I went to M. Cornet to settle our accounts. The goods were entered in the accounts of the Company's merchants and I got receipts for them. I gave them the receipts and received the money. I received 500 pagodas as desired, from Tiruviti Bâlu Chetti and

[1] 24th Mâsi, Prabhava. [2] 25th Mâsi, Prabhava.

Salatu Venkatâchala Chetti on account of the wheat business; the balance of 195 pagodas, 46 cash in two or three days [ ].

Tuesday, March 5.[1]—I heard some bad news this morning when I went to the Governor's. M. Barnewall who married a daughter of M. Vincens and the Governor's wife came from Madras to stay here with his wife and having heard that M. Bussy had seduced her, he fought a duel with him with swords and was wounded. Even the Governor heard of this. M. Barnewall, fearing lest others also should seduce her, and being in a very angry mood, left for Tranquebar and stayed there. Now news has come that Madame Barnewall is dead.[2] I hear that both the Governor and his wife are much concerned. I went with M. Boyelleau and M. Cornet to condole with him. The Governor told me in their presence that Madame Barnewall had died the day before yesterday after two days' illness. I said, 'How many misfortunes have befallen Madame, and now this sad news!', thus expressing my deep regret. He then told me that

[1] 26th Mâsi, Prabhava.

[2] Francis Coyle de Barnewall, son of Anthony Coyle de Barnewall and Antonia de Carvalho (better known by the name of her second husband as 'Mrs. de Madeiros'), was a Free Merchant of Madras. In 1738 he married Rose Vincens. On the capture of Madras, he certainly afforded assistance to La Bourdonnais, but after the rendition of the place he settled once more under the protection of the English. Ranga Pillai's story is partly corroborated by the curious fact that, in March 1747, the Barnewalls were at Tranquebar, and Dupleix ordered Bussy to be sent to Pondichery from Kârikâl with an escort 'pour l'empêcher de passer à Tranquebart, ou du moins de se trouver à quelque rendezvous'. *Le Riche à Dupleix*, March 6, 1747 (*P.R.*—No. 83).

he had heard yesterday from Bengal that Madame d' Espréménil was so ill that her life was despaired of. ' And all her children have died young,' he added. I suggested to him that he might as well now tell Madame about her eldest son's being cut to pieces on board ship, the news of which has been kept secret. He replied, ' That's what I thought, and I have already told her.'

Then he turned to M. Cornet and asked him what paper he had in his hand. He gave it to him saying that it was a letter from M. Lucas at Cuddapah. He read it and asked M. Cornet if he had consulted me about it. He replied, ' Ranga Pillai says that he sent M. Lucas a bill of exchange for 2,000 rupees (but not payable to him) by his man Sakkarai Pillai, with letters to the merchants asking them to pay M. Lucas the money if he made purchases. But he wanted the money before buying anything. In spite of Sakkarai Pillai's promise to get the money as soon as goods were bought, he took the bill and asked the merchants for the money. They refused as the bill was in Sakkarai Pillai's name only. Now he writes angrily because things have not gone as he wished.' The Governor told M. Cornet to write at once to M. Lucas saying plainly that he had not received any money because he had bought nothing and that he should at once buy and despatch goods to the amount that he had been advanced. M. Cornet said he would do so and went away, having expressed his sorrow for Madame Barnewall's

death. He asked me to go to see him at his house. Then I went to my nut-godown. I was again sent for and asked by the Governor how many bullock-loads of paddy had been received in the bazaars. I said, 785. He then told me to buy for the Company every evening one or two hundred bullock-loads. I said I would. He asked what Alisapâkkam would yield. I said that it would yield 20 or 30 garse. He said, 'Always have at least 200 garse in store and then you need not worry yourself.' I said I would do so. He then asked whether only paddy had been received or rice also. I reported to him the choultry news. When I came to the item '12 bullock-loads and 12 packages of sugar,' he interrupted me and said, 'Ranga Pillai, there are 300 candies of sugar-candy that have lain by me for the last four years. Send for the writer to tell the Company's merchants, and try to sell it a little at a time.' I replied that I would speak to the Company's merchants and tell him what they said. Then writer Ranga Pillai came. On being asked how much sugarcandy was on hand, he replied, 'Out of 300 candies received, 100 were sent to Mocha and 200 remain.' The Governor said, 'I am sure there are 300 candies. Look into the accounts and tell me.' The writer said he would and went away. I said that I would consult the merchants and let him know; and went away to my nut-godown.

One Miyâsi a horseman who deserted to Fort St. David five or six months ago, owing to a quarrel

with 'Abd-ul-rahmân, returned this evening, having made it up with him. As they could find no opportunity of seeing the Governor, they came and told me the Fort St. David news and went away.

Wednesday, March 6.[1]—When I went to the Governor's this morning, he was searching for a letter from Manilla. As he was too busy to speak with me, I went to writer Ranga Pillai's office, thence to Madame to condole with her on the death of Madame Barnewall (Vincens' daughter) and returned. A chobdar came and told me that the Governor was asking for me; and when I went, I reported the choultry news. Then Madame Porcher presented a petition to the Governor. Having read it, he asked me who Venkata Reddi was. I replied that he was a native of Madras but had lived here for the last ten years. He asked, 'What is he?' I replied, 'He used to be a dubâsh, but now does a little business on his own account.' The Governor remarked, 'There is a suit between him and M. Porcher. But ought one to call the other a thief before the matter is decided?' I answered, 'Has he an iron head that he should call a gentleman a thief and present such a petition? The petition is not in his own language. There may have been a mistake in the translation or some thing. Would he be so bold as to call a gentleman a thief? No one would say such a thing even in conversation; and would he then dare to write it in

[1] 27th Mâsi, Prabhava.

a petition to the Council? He is a timid man. He asked me to see the gentleman and said he would speak to him about it. But as this was an affair in which a European was concerned, I said it would be better for me to do nothing.' The Governor said, 'You were right. This is a matter in which a European is concerned. You should not meddle in it.' I said that was why I had done nothing, and continued, 'This Reddi is a rogue. He is a servant of M. Porcher. He once served M. Soude and cheated him; and now he has done the same by M. Porcher.' The Governor agreed, and saying that a mistake had probably been made by the European who wrote the petition, desired me to send for the Reddi. I sent a peon for him. Then Madame Porcher came and said to the Governor, 'You once spoke to Ranga Pillai about our business and we got it settled. If you will speak to him again now, I shall not trouble you any more, and we will finish the affair direct with him.' He then told me to look to their business. I replied, 'I have done nothing to help them, but will do so now.' She then took leave. As it was noon, I also took leave and came home. On the way, I met Venkata Reddi and asked him how he had dared to call M. Porcher a thief in his petition. He replied, 'May I be punished if I wrote that! The petition was written by M. Desmarêts—ask him about it. Madame Porcher threatened to beat me with a slipper before M. Desmarêts and

M. Le Beaume I can bring witnesses to prove this.' I said, 'I have already told the Governor that such a thing could not have been written, and as you have been sent for, you had better go and explain.' He then replied piteously that he was afraid to go except with me lest he should be put to shame. I said, 'The Governor is now at dinner. I am going home but shall return at four o'clock. If the Governor sends for you in the mean time, go and explain to him.' Then I came home. Later on Venkata Reddi came and told me that he had spoken to M. Desmarêts who said that he would go and explain the matter, as he had written the petition. At three o'clock a peon came and told me that I was called for. It was nearly four o'clock when I arrived, and I met M. Desmarêts at the gate of the Governor's house. He said, 'I wrote Venkata Reddi's petition against M. Porcher, who has complained to the Governor that he is called a thief in it. He is not familiar with legal papers. He thought, "M. Porcher knows that Paramânandan is a thief" meant "Paramânandan is a thief as well as M. Porcher,"[1] and so presented a petition to the Governor. I went to the Governor, showed him the petition and explained the matter. He laughed and said that M. Porcher had misunderstood it.' He then went home and I went in to the Governor.

[1] The confusion presumably arose out of an inversion of the subject and verb—'Sçait le sieur Porcher. . . .'

As soon as he saw me, he gave me a letter to the Governor of Negapatam to be sent at once by two peons who were to wait for a reply. He then went for a drive. Immediately, I sent for two of Malayappan's peons and, having despatched them to Negapatam, went out. I returned to the nut-godown in the evening, and then heard that I had been sent for. When I went, the Governor was talking with [ ] upstairs. I went up. He came and asked me how many garse of paddy had been supplied to the Company from the villages. I said, only 70. He then asked, 'Has none of the paddy brought into the bazaar been sold either yesterday or to-day?' I told him, 6 or 7 garse. On this, he said, 'See that there is always a stock of 300 garse. Be careful till there is; afterwards, you need not worry.' I then gave him an account—

From the out-villages including Olukarai, Murungampâkkam and Ariyânkuppam...	100 garse
Alisapâkkam ...	...20 or 25 garse
From the northward	...30 or 34 garse
Already in stock...	...27 or 30 garse

In all, 190 or 200 garse, and I said that 100 garse more would have to be purchased. He said, 'Very well,' and asked whether a reply had not yet been received from Kâsi Dâs Bukkanji about the matter.[1] I replied, 'No.' He asked, 'Why this

[1] It is not clear what this 'matter' was; later passages suggest that Dupleix was anxious to borrow from Kâsi Dâs.

delay? Is he at all dissatisfied?' I replied, 'I think he is. When he asked whether the things entrusted to him by Safdar 'Alî Khân, and said to have been lost in the plunder of Mylapore, were in the Fort at Madras, there was some delay in our reply. Perhaps he was displeased.' Thereupon he asked me what the articles were and what was their value. I replied that I had heard what their value was but had forgotten. He told me to find out and tell him. I said I would do so, and when I was about to leave, he asked me whether Mutyâlu Nâyakkan had not yet returned from Cuddapah. I said I had heard this morning that he had reached Sholinghur by way of Tirupati with 50 horse and that he would be at Arcot to-morrow. He said, 'Can't we catch him on his way?'—'We can,' I said, 'if we send enough men.' He said, 'We still have at Arcot the men who complained to the Nawâb about the loss inflicted on the northern merchants by the burning of their ships. Write to our Vakîl to explain to Anwar-ud-dîn Khân and Sampâti Râo that they can easily secure compensation if Mutyâlu Nâyakkan is seized; and tell him to do whatever is necessary. Should this fail, let us try to seize him on his return.' Then I went to the nut-godown, and told Madanânda Pandit to write to Vakîl Subbayyan as follows:—'Try to get Mutyâlu Nâyakkan arrested; if you cannot do that, post fifty or sixty horse and a hundred Bondilis or Pathâns on his road or seize him somehow with

Venkatapati Nâyakkan's help, in revenge for the burning of the northern merchants' ships. Ask His Highness Anwar-ud-dîn Khân who has already been approached about it, to order Mutyâlu Nâyakkan to pay compensation for the ships; if he does not pay, horsemen and a hundred peons should be secretly sent to seize him on the road. If you manage to seize him, you shall be allowed to use a palankin and given an allowance for it; and you shall remain in the Company's service for life. But if you fail, you will lose your post. The peons shall be given a whole month's pay for the five or six days' work; but they must agree to be imprisoned for three or four months if they fail.' Another letter was written to Muhammad Tavakkal in my name, with suitable compliments, saying, 'The Nawâb need not be asked to send people to Fort St David about the northern merchants' business, as Mutyâlu Nâyakkan will soon arrive, and by arresting him their money may be easily recovered. A good opportunity has thus offered itself, and if it is seized, our object will be easily gained.' The letters were given to Mânâji and Appayyan with three rupees each and a note directing that they should be given ten rupees, if they reached Arcot quickly. They went away promising to reach the place in a day and a half.

Thursday, March 7.[1]—When I went to the Governor's this morning, he was busy and so, though

[1] 28th Mâsi, Prabhava.

he saw me, he did not speak to me. I waited about half-an-hour and then went to writer Ranga Pillai's office. As I was going, Madanânda Pandit who had been in the office, was sent for and taken to the Governor. Madanânda Pandit related to me what happened, as follows:—

'Father Antony, the priest of the Luz Church [1] at Mylapore, received a Telugu letter from Lôka Bhândhavan, a poligar of those parts, and sent it to Madame who gave it to me to translate. I explained it to the Governor from dubâsh Appu Mudali's interpretation. The Governor did not understand and ordered it to be given to Madame to be translated; so I brought it back to her and told her what the Governor had said. She told me to leave it, as she was too worried, and said that she would send for me as soon as she could. So I left it and came away.' He then related the contents of the letter:—

'Venkatapati Nâyakkan and another, formerly renters at Madras, have been living at certain big Muhammadan villages near Madras since the French seized it in the late troubles. Fearing the English might demand large sums of money from them, they seized two Vaishnava Brâhmans belonging to the out-villages of Madras and have kept them in irons,

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[1] Ranga Pillai calls the church *Kâttukôyil*, i.e., the church in the jungle. The Luz Church is still known by that name. 'Father Anthony' was Antonio Noronha *alias* Père Antoine de la Purification, a cousin of Madame Dupleix and afterwards titular Bishop of Halicarnassus. The relationship seems to have been disputed, but it is explicitly acknowledged by Dupleix himself.

pretending that the Brâhmans had acted as spies and betrayed to the French all the secrets of the English at the time of the capture of Madras. Is it just to see them suffer for their services to the French? If the renters are seized, the Company's dues can be collected and the Brâhmans can be released. If you do so, you will prosper and become famous; and your action will not be fruitless. If I can help, I am ready to do whatever you desire.'

Now concerning the letter received by Madame Dupleix, she sent it to her husband pretending that she had heard nothing till now of her daughter's death and her son's having been killed two years and a half ago and that she was so overwhelmed with grief that she could not read the letter. She knows that though others understand her tricks, her husband does not, because he is so astonishingly devoted to her; every one else knows all about her; he only does not; and that is why she returned the letter to him.

As it was noon, I came home. In the afternoon, I went to see the threshing floor at Olukarai and ordered Venkatâchala Nâyakkan to have the paddy collected and sent to the Fort soon. At about half-past six, I returned to my nut-godown. Soon after, the Governor's peons told me that I was wanted and I went to him. He asked me why I had not come this morning. I replied that he was busy and so I had waited in the nut-godown. He asked what Europe news there was. I replied that there was

nothing extraordinary. He then asked if Tarwâdi gave me any news. I said that he had just told me that news would arrive in two or three days. I then went to my nut-godown where Madanânda Pandit came and related that he had been sent for at three, and that the Governor and his wife had told him to translate the letter into French. There is nothing else of importance.

Friday, March 8.[1]—This morning I went to the Governor and reported to him the choultry news. He asked me how much grain had been received on the Company's account. I replied that the grain from the northward and what had been purchased in the bazaar would amount to 140 or 150 garse. Then I heard that Akbar Sâhib, Dôst 'Alî Khân's widow and Dîwân Sâhib had arrived from Wandiwash and I got a gate pass signed and sent it by Chandâ Sâhib's people. He asked, 'Why do these people go and come so often?' I said that, as Dôst 'Alî Khân's widow was very old and rich and lived here, her daughters and sons-in-law were always flocking round her. He only laughed at this. Then Madanânda Pandit said to me in the presence of the Governor, 'Badê Sâhib's wife wants to go to Arcot. Tell the Governor.' The Governor asked what the matter was. I replied, 'Badê Sâhib's wife was once refused permission to go to Arcot with her son to see her old mother and return in thirty or

[1] 29th Mâsi, Prabhava.

forty days. She is asking permission again.' He then asked how much she would pay. I replied that she said that she would pay two thousand rupees. He asked me what I had told her to offer. I replied that I had told her to give one thousand gold mohurs. He said, 'I will not accept less than twenty thousand pagodas; it is no use proposing such small sums.' As Madanânda Pandit had been given a bribe of fifty pagodas, I said this much, but thought it was no use saying more. Then there is nothing more worth writing.

This evening I was sent for by the Governor, and, when I went, he asked me when Chandâ Sâhib's wife and Khân Bahâdûr would pay what they owed. I replied that they had agreed to pay in a month or two. He then asked if Chandâ Sâhib's arrival was certain. I replied, 'It was said that he was now here, now there; but this was untrue, mere rumour. But the true news is as follows:—Sâhu Râjâ does nothing without consulting his two wives who really exercise all power. Through their intercession, Chandâ Sâhib has really got the Râjâ's permission to live at Arcot or Trichinopoly.' The Governor asked, 'Why does he need to bring women into the matter?' I answered, 'Have you not heard that Sâhu Râjâ is a great and wise king? If Sâhu Râjâ, who is a wise king and whose country is at peace, did not listen to his wives, but ruled with justice, he would with his cavalry soon bring these countries under his umbrella. But he listens

to his wives, who allure and lead him astray. As women rule, every one tries to get his own way by flattering them and bowing before them. But as they are ignorant, they tell their ignorant thoughts to the Râjâ who does as they say without enquiry. Thus affairs are mismanaged, for no man has rule and authority; all is disorder and confusion.' When the Governor heard this, he smiled and said that he understood what I meant; and went into Madame's chamber. I soon went away to my nut-godown. When he went in saying with a smile that he understood me, I thought:—For the last five or six years, he has been Governor, and has ruled without listening to his wife; but for the last two months, he has been listening to her; acting on her groundless accusations of people concerned in Madras affairs, and seizing and imprisoning ten or twenty innocent persons suspected of being spies; but all these matters have proved to be groundless, and have brought him only ill-will and dishonour because he has listened to her. It is known to all that the Governor listens to his wife and so he oppresses the people. He is conscious of this, and that is why he gave me such an answer, and smiled when he heard what I said and went away saying that he understood me. From the time he became Governor up to the month of Kârttigai[1] last, whenever women were spoken of, or his wife

[1] The 8th Hindu month, corresponding with the latter part of November and the earlier part of December.

was mentioned, he would say that she was cruel, that she told lies, accused people falsely and would not shrink from slander; that she wished to be the real Governor, and to manage things according to her pleasure; but that he had always checked her and not allowed her to interfere improperly. He would also say that a husband should always behave thus. In some things he even opposed her wishes. But now for the last two months he has been listening to and deceived by her in everything and I do not know what evils and calamities will befall [ ]. Her word has become law. It was formerly said that when a man changes his course and his heart is altered, death, a change of Governors, loss, disgrace or exile will ensue. The Governor exemplifies this, for last January when [he was] at Muttirusa Pillai's Choultry meaning to advance against Fort St. David, he heard that fourteen ships were coming. This he rejoiced to hear and returned hither. But the sloop brought a letter from Europe saying that a new Governor had been appointed and would arrive by a ship coming in 1748.[1] The Europeans in town also talked about the arrival of the sloop; and when he had read the letter, he who had returned with great joy for the coming of the ships grew sad. Why should he have been sad on hearing that fourteen Europe ships had reached Mascareigne? I

[1] One of Ranga Pillai's conjectures, possibly based on rumours that Dupleix wished to return to Europe. See *Mémoire pour Dupleix* (1759), pp. 25–26.

think it must have been because of his approaching removal, and evidently this is the consequence of his listening to his wife for the last three months. There is the proof.

Saturday, March 9.[1]—This morning, I went to the Governor's, and reported to him the choultry news. He said, 'Of the two Brâhmans who were seized and brought here by Madame's people as spies, one has been kept in the Fort, and the other at the Nayinâr's house. Tell me the name of the Brâhman imprisoned in the Fort and I will release them both.' I replied, 'I do not know the Brâhman's name; I did not concern myself with the matter as it was being managed by Krishnayyan the Hasty. Even if I had heard the name, I should not remember it, as I knew nothing of the man.' The Governor agreed, and then said that Madame Porcher had come and asked him to settle the suit against Paramânandan, her servant, who is living at Nârkandipâlaiyam, by sending him to Arcot and writing in support of M. Porcher to Nawâb Anwar-ud-dîn Khân, Sampâti Râo, Muhammad Tavakkal, and Chakravarti Srînivâsa Âchâriyâr, the Kârvêti Râjâ's Vakîl. I was ordered to write letters accordingly, and said I would do so. Before this Madame Porcher had come and reminded Madame Dupleix that Venkata Reddi was in correspondence with the English, that he had charge of

[1] 30th Mâsi, Prabhava.

money belonging to Morse's Guruvappan and that these two were acting together. So the Governor said, 'The day before yesterday I told you to send for Venkata Reddi; why have you not done so? Send for him at once.'

Venkata Reddi came to see me after the Governor had spoken thus. As the complaint of his having called M. Porcher a thief has failed, now she has reminded the Governor to send for him. Further, seven or eight days ago, Madame Porcher told Madame Dupleix that all their efforts to incriminate Venkata Reddi had failed but there was no doubt that he was buying goods of the English. She said this to Madame Dupleix because she is seeking to ensnare him; and that is why Madame has been enquiring about him. I expected him to be imprisoned when he went to the Governor, and so I advised him to speak out boldly. The Governor questioned him about the dispute between him and M. Porcher, and, as he was explaining, M. Desmarêts came and spoke with the Governor for a short time. Then the Governor asked him why he was giving news to the English, as though he were one of their own people. He answered, 'If I be found guilty of this, may my head be struck off.'—'You answer so promptly,' the Governor said, 'because you have a guilty conscience,' and so ordered him to prison. Thereon I ordered a peon to take him to the choultry and imprison him, and myself went to my nut-godown. He again sent for

me and told me to get a bill of exchange from Kâsi Dâs Bukkanji in favour of Padre Severini for four hundred and forty pagodas to be paid in rupees at the current rate of exchange. I said that the Company's merchants might be asked to draw it. He replied, 'You are right. I forgot; get it from the merchants.' Accordingly I sent for them. They all came to the nut-godown and I told them that the Governor wanted a bill of exchange. They agreed and told Elaichiyappan to draw out a bill which was signed by five of them—Sankara Ayyan, Âdivarâha Chetti, Arunâchala Chetti, Râmakrishna Chetti and Kulandai Chetti. They also wrote a cadjan letter to go with it and this took till one o'clock. When I rose to take it to the Governor, they complained that Venkatêsa Ayyan was very slow in paying what he owed and that, though there was not time then (as it was two o'clock), it would be well if I sent for them again to-night or to-morrow. Thereupon I sent for Venkatêsa Ayyan and questioned him. He replied stubbornly, 'There was no transaction. There were three matters, of which one was enquired into and the others were not.' I said, 'Very well,' and ordered him to prison under a guard. I dismissed the merchants, thinking that, as they are people who forget their promises, it was time to get the money they had promised the Governor, and that I would tell him so to-morrow. I then gave him the cadjan letter with the bill of exchange for four hundred and forty pagodas in

favour of Padre Severini. On my return, I met M. Bertrand who showed me the letter and asked me if the bill of exchange was Kâsi Dâs Bukkanji's. I said it was the Company's merchants' and taking the letter, wrote 'Company's merchants to Tândavarâya Chetti and Ammayappa Chetti' instead of 'Kâsi Dâs Bukkanji's bill.' I got home to my food at two o'clock.

Sunday, March 10.[1]—I went to the Governor's this morning and reported to him the choultry news. He did not get angry, as between seven and nine hundred bullock-loads are coming in daily to the bazaar; but if it had been otherwise, he would have blamed me for the delay. As it was, he could not complain.

A letter has come from our Vakîl at Arcot saying :—'Mutyâlu Nâyakkan, the English Vakîl, and Varâhappayyan's son have arrived here with fifty-five Moghul, and fifty Maratha horse, and three hundred peons, with Nâsîr Jang's presents—dresses of honour for five people and two horses for the two chief people among them. Also there is a letter to Nawâb Anwar-ud-dîn Khân commanding him to help them in all matters.[2] The poligars and killedars on the way have been ordered to see them safe through their several countries. They have

[1] 1st Panguni, Prabhava.

[2] Nâsîr Jang issued parwânas to Anwar-ud-dîn and all the poligars, etc., in the neighbouring countries, enjoining them to assist the English against the French, together with one to Dupleix ordering him to abstain from further hostilities. See *Country Correspondence*, 1748, pp. 4–5.

parwânas to this effect from Nâsîr Jang and have been safely escorted from the Kistna to Arcot by the forces of Kandanûr, Cuddapah, Mettalwâr, and Kârvêti, etc., through the various territories. Thus they reached Arcot on Wednesday, March 6.[1]

When I had reported this to the Governor, M. Delarche came in, and, standing beside the Governor, spoke to him about the paddy. Then he sent for me and asked angrily, 'Why have not the six garse of paddy yet been bought for my house?' I said, 'I expected prices to fall; if you wish, I will send six garse out of the ten for which I have advanced money.' I then came away. There is nothing more worth writing.

Monday, March 11.[2]—This morning the Governor sent for me and said angrily that M. Mainville and the others imprisoned in Sêndamangalam fort had not yet been released, though it was six or seven months since their capture. I replied, 'If it had been a European government, matters would have been settled on the spot; but at a Carnatic darbâr, it takes fifteen days to answer a letter. In the first place, it is difficult to get admission; and, when they find it difficult to settle their own affairs, how can we expect them to settle other people's? In

[1] There is a discrepancy here. Mutyâlu reports his arrival as on Wednesday $\frac{\text{Feb. 27}}{\text{March 9.}}$ (*Country Correspondence*, 1748, p. 16). But as February 27 (O.S.) fell on a Saturday in 1748, it seems that Mutyâlu's letter is misdated.

[2] 2nd Pangunni, Prabhava.

spite of this, our Pondichery Brâhmans succeeded in seeing the Râjâ who ordered the Dalavâi to despatch their business. Accordingly [ ] the people at the frontiers have been ordered always to let the French pass with horse and palankins without hindrance. The Râjâ also wrote a reply and had it sealed and given to the storekeeper, Vîranna Chetti, to be delivered, but this man withheld it and asked our gumasta, Kulasêkaram Venkatanâranappa Ayyan, to give something for charity. The gumasta wrote to me, and I sent money at once. It is nearly twenty or twenty-five days since I wrote to him to obtain the release of the French prisoners. They will be released and arrive in ten or fifteen days. It takes a month to get an answer and hence the delay.' The Governor said, 'If you had told me that it would take so long, I would have sent four or five hundred men to plunder the country and rescue our people. But I did nothing, because you told me that the place was two hundred miles away and was one hundred miles square and that, as we had waited so long, our prisoners would be released soon. But they are still in prison. I will hasten their release.' So saying he ordered me to send for 'Abd-ul-rahmân, the Chief Jemadar. Then he told me to send for M. Guillard and tell him to send a hundred pagodas for M. Mainville's expenses by the Brâhman who takes the letter to Sêndamangalam. M. Guillard said that he would do so. The Governor also wrote

a letter to M. Mainville to be sent with the hundred pagodas. I despatched the Brâhman who carries the Mahé packets with the Governor's letter, the hundred pagodas and the medicine for M. Golaine.[1] I too sent a letter of compliment to M. Mainville.

M. Cornet came yesterday at eleven o'clock and told the Governor that Zain-ud 'Alî Khân had not yet supplied wheat for the money advanced. Thereupon the Governor sent for me and told me to write to Zain-ud 'Alî Khân either to send the wheat or to return the 1,600 rupees advanced. Then he ordered me to write to Avây Sâhib and tell him to get 4,000 rupees as promised from Arcot Muttayya Mudali who owes us 5,000 and odd rupees for the broadcloth he bought at outcry. The Governor added, 'You are always slow; you are not so active as you used to be.'

I then went to the nut-godown. Vîrâ Nâyakkan told me what had happened at the Choultry Court. The Second (M. Legou), M. Desfresnes, and M. Delarche sat, and sent for Kommana Mudali, and said to him, 'You went with M. Dulaurens to Madras and misled him. You bought nine hundred corge of herba cloth[2] at five pagodas a corge and sold it at seven. You did not deliver the leases granted to the renters of our villages, but alarmed the people with stories of the arrival of English ships, and, in the confusion thus caused, you with your brother-in-law's

[1] The name is conjectural.

[2] A variety of tusser silk.

help harvested the crops and stole the produce. You made Ammayya Pillai collect bribes and issue passes for smuggled goods, and when the custom-house people asked for permits, you took the passes you had issued and tore them up. You let the merchants sell paddy as they pleased, even at five markâls instead of at eight.[1] You prevented people from buying cotton, wrote to your master to buy it at 22, and thus misled him; nay, you took a commission of one per cent. on the goods sold, and in all this, Gôpâlakrishna Ayyan had a hand.' They read this accusation to him and asked him why he had betrayed the Company. Kommana Mudali replied, 'All this is untrue, whatever people may say. If they are sent for and questioned before me, and still accuse me, I will confess I am guilty; but it will all prove false.' They told him that the people of Varadappa Chetti's village, a dancing girl named Bangâru, and Yâgappan, who was employed in the paddy godown, had all signed the accusation. They then sent away everyone including Kommana Mudali and after discussion decided that Kommana Mudali should pay a fine of 2,000 pagodas, and signed their sentence. Then they sent for Kommana Mudali and the rest and the Second said to the prisoner, 'We will overlook your guilt and sentence you to pay a fine of 2,000 pagodas. You may go when you have paid it; but till then, you shall not be released.'

[1] *i.e.*, per pagoda; the grain-dealers (apparently) had been allowed to sell much dearer than the price fixed by the Commandant.

The Second then went away and the others heard two or three cases of theft and debt, ordering some to be imprisoned and some to be whipped according to their deserts.

Thus Kommana Mudali's case which has been pending so long has at last been decided, M. Desfresnes having arrived from Madras the day before yesterday. I think this is because Madame has prejudiced the Governor against M. Dulaurens and Kommana Mudali by bringing charges which have proved false. But as Kommana Mudali had been imprisoned on Madame's advice merely for sitting down and getting up again, M. Desfresnes was sent to Madras. There he exaggerated trifles and sent a false report; and after his return he was told how the matter was to be carried at the Choultry Court. The Second being a bad man, has done everything that M. Desfresnes told him, and not caring what disgrace might come upon the Governor, has fined Kommana Mudali 2,000 pagodas and signed the sentence. If the Second had done justice, those who imprisoned Kommana Mudali would have been accused of a thousand crimes. That would be justice. In their[1] time, the Company's interests were not betrayed; in d'Espréménil's time, the goods in the town were allowed to be carried out—some for thirty, some for twenty-five, some for twenty and some at last for seventeen-and-a-half per cent. The dubâshes

[1] *i.e.*, Dulaurens and Kommana Mudali.

got two-and-a-half per cent. with or without the knowledge of the Europeans. Altogether between twenty and forty lakhs' worth of goods was carried off and no one complained. If for buying goods at outcry, and for taking a commission of one pagoda per cent. a man is fined two thousand pagodas, I do not know what they may be accused of next. Those who really betrayed the Company have been let off without any punishment, while a man has been condemned at the Choultry Court for buying at an outcry and taking one per cent. All who have eyes and ears will be astonished. We must suppose that persons are punished by God for their sins in a former life. I do not know what people will say when they are fined or imprisoned without fault. When Gôpâlakrishna Ayyan's name was also mentioned along with Kommana Mudali, they did not care to enquire who or where he was. Surely this is the city of justice. However we shall see what M. Dulaurens will say and what will happen.

I then gave presents to Singâra Âchâriyâr and the others who came from Râchapâlaiyam. There is a box which had been sent me for Sêsham Râjâ by Subbayyan who is employed at the Fort. It is inlaid with the ten incarnations of Vishnu and with ivory flowers, and it strikes twelve when it is opened. The inside is excellently worked and divided into small compartments. It could not be bought for a hundred pagodas. It is so fine and pleasing that I had kept it to send as a present to the Râjâ of

Mysore at Seringapatam; but afterwards I resolved to send it to Sêsham Râjâ on account of his rejoicings on the birth of my son. As soon as he heard that news, he distributed money and sugar to the Brâhmans; temples and other places were illuminated; one or two Brâhmans were given grants of land; persons who said that nothing could be more fortunate were given a quarter of a cawny of land as a free gift, and the Râjâ caused the news to be celebrated with great joy and feasting throughout the town. When Sivarâma Sâstri had written a reply with compliments and got up for me to sign it, ten sparks fell one after the other from the lamp. All present were astonished and the elders who saw it said my friendship with the Râjâ would grow stronger and stronger. I too thought so. As I wrote my name, the clock struck in the Fort and the gun was heard. I was overjoyed and despatched the box at once to Sêsham Râjâ.

I wrote to Kanda Pillai: 'Keep this year's profits of Nechanûr village; let the cultivators take their share; the tanks and the two channels should be properly repaired so as to increase the cultivated fields and reclaim the waste; let it out for a year on easy terms so that its fertility may be increased.'

The Râjâ's people took leave saying that they would sleep in the choultry to-night. I also wrote to Kanda Pillai to take only five pagodas instead of ten, as the rent for the land cultivated by Varada Ayyangâr. He also took leave. I also sent a boy

from one of the Madras painters' houses to show how the box opened. They went away saying that they would leave to-morrow morning after they had eaten at the agrahâram as it would be Dvâdasi.[1]

Tuesday, March 12.[2]—When I went to the Governor's this morning, Manoel Soiquit,[3] nephew of M. Élias, was talking with him. The Governor called me and said, 'Sambu Dâs[4] three years ago gave some jewels to one Kandopoulos,[5] a Greek, to be sold in Bengal. These jewels which were set with diamonds had been plundered by the Muhammadans at Tanjore and Trichinopoly and then made over to Sambu Dâs. Some of these state jewels worth two lakhs of rupees were sent on board the English ship bound for Bengal and, having been seized by the French, were put on board our ship. But our ship sank[6] and the jewels were thought to have been lost. However it is now said that the box with the jewels was found on the English ship. But as the Nawâb of Bengal ordered that the war between the English and

[1] The 12th phasis of the moon's waxing or waning.

[2] 3rd Panguni, Prabhava.

[3] The name is conjectural.

[4] One of the principal shroffs, or bankers of Madras; in January he was living at Chingleput, having apparently declined Anwar-ud-dîn's invitation to settle at Arcot. *Country Correspondence*, 1748, p. 1.

[5] I suppose that this man must be the 'Cantopher' (mentioned in *Country Correspondence, ibid.*) whom Sambu Dâs desired Mr. Floyer to send to him from Fort St. David.

[6] I do not know the name of the English ship; but she was supposed to have been despatched from Madras with diamonds, etc., that the English were sending to Bengal for safety. The French ship was the *Insulaire*, which had suffered so in the action between La Bourdonnais and Peyton that she was sent to Bengal to refit.

the French was to be limited to Europe,[1] two or three Bengal merchant ships belonging to the French and taken by the English were restored and their contents returned to the owners. Kandopoulos, who went to Bengal to sell Sambu Dâs's jewels on commission wrote to Sambu Dâs in Âdi of Akshaya[2] that all his property had been lost, and that a French ship of La Bourdonnais' squadron which had seized the English ship had sunk in the Ganges, thus making Sambu Dâs believe that his jewels too were lost. However he sold of these jewels, a girdle set with diamonds to an Armenian Coja for 35,000 rupees, and the latter sold it to the Nawâb of Murshidabad for a lakh of rupees. Manoel Soiquit himself bought two diamond rings, one costing 3,500 rupees and the other rather more. Certain other jewels were pledged to purchase silk and other goods which were laded on English ships.' All this the Governor told me as narrated by Manoel Soiquit and ordered me to write about it to Sambu Dâs. I replied, 'That should not be done yet. A letter should first be written to the Armenian not to deliver to Kandopoulos the goods which have arrived by the Armenian ship at Pulicat. Such a letter should be sent, and Kandopoulos who is now at Pulicat should be seized and brought here. If a letter

[1] Two petitions presented by the French and English respectively to Alivirdi Khân are printed in *Lettres et Conventions*, pp. 247, etc. (Soc. de l'Hist. de l'Inde Française). The French petition denies that there was money or 'other effects' on the English vessel.

[2] *i.e.*, July-August 1746.

is then written to Sambu Dâs he will come here. After his arrival, matters may be settled according to justice.' He agreed and told Manoel Soiquit to keep the thing secret; and, sending for Coja Sultân, made him write to the Armenian at Pulicat not to deliver the goods, and himself wrote to Madras that the Greek should be seized.

M. Dulaurens came and asked the Governor to remit the fine imposed upon Kommana Mudali, but he refused; so the other took his leave.

Wednesday, March 13.[1]—This morning mass was said at the Capuchins' church for M. Vincens, Madame's son, who was killed the year before last while sailing to Junkceylon and those parts, and for her daughter, Madame Barnewall. The Governor, his wife and the others went to the church and as they did not return till after ten o'clock, I did not go to him, but remained at the nut-godown.

I asked Konda Râjâ who has come from Seringapatam, the capital of Mysore, what the news was, and he replied, 'They promised to pay a small sum in the presence of certain sowcars and were about to set out. I left in advance of them eighteen or nineteen days ago. I met your people with the bill of exchange two days' journey from Seringapatam, so the money must have been paid and the balance received a couple of days later. They must have reached Sêndamangalam by now. You will hear of

[1] 4th Panguni, Prabhava.

it to-morrow or the day after.' Thereupon I got a bill of exchange for another two thousand rupees and sent it by Venkatakrishna Ayyangâr and Chintâmani Ayyan, giving them thirty rupees with a promise of presents if they arrived in eight days. They took leave, saying that they would set out to-morrow three-quarters of an hour before sun-rise.

A letter has been received from Vakîl Subbayyan at Arcot and it contains the following news about Mutyâlu Nâyakkan:—'Mutyâlu Nâyakkan has visited the following persons with nazars[1] :—

Hazrat Anwar-ud-dîn Khân—11 gold mohurs.
Sampâti Râo—5 mohurs.
Husain Sâhib—5 mohurs.
Zain-ud 'Alî Khân—21 rupees.

He said he wanted one thousand horse and would give presents. They said they would reply to-morrow. He has purchased a maund of lead to make bullets of, and will march by Gingee instead of Wandiwash. He has brought a letter from Nâsîr Jang, and so the Nawâb will not agree to waylay and seize him on account of the loss incurred by the burning of the northern merchants' ships. When I spoke to one or two jemadars about his being seized, they said that they would arrange for it with the help of those who have come with him. The matter will be well considered and a letter sent to-morrow ; another letter will be sent as soon as I have learnt the exact

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[1] *Cf. Country Correspondence*, 1748, p. 17.

date of his departure. Munawar-ud-dîn Khân has gone to Vellore and on his return he may arrange to seize Mutyâlu Nâyakkan.[1] Husain Sâhib is on Mutyâlu's side. Muhammad Tavakkal says he is powerless in the northern merchants' affair, as Mutyâlu Nâyakkan is supported by Husain Sâhib. Tiruviti Sêshâchala Chetti is giving all the help he can to Mutyâlu Nâyakkan.' As it was nine o'clock at night when I received the news, I determined to tell it to the Governor to-morrow morning. There is nothing else extraordinary.

Thursday, March 14.[2]—This morning I went to the Governor's and told him all the news received from Vakîl Subbayyan at Arcot as noted in my diary yesterday. He said, 'What is the use of taking so much trouble over Mutyâlu Nâyakkan's capture? We need not take such pains as all that. Write to the Vakîl to let us know two days before Mutyâlu Nâyakkan sets out.' Accordingly I wrote at once, and then said, 'The Marathas wish to observe the Hôli festival, and 'Abd-ul-rahmân and some of the sepoys are asking for leave.'—'Tell them, I hope they will enjoy themselves,' he said. I was in the Governor's house till noon and then came home. Then there is nothing else new or extraordinary.

This evening some Mahé Brâhmans brought a packet. They said, 'A ship has reached Mahé from

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[1] Mutyâlu appears to have learnt something of these plans against him. *Country Correspondence*, 1748, p. 18.
[2] 5th Panguni, Prabhava.

Mascareigne. Another ship was sighted the next day. Thereon we were sent off with this letter and letters from Europe, with a promise of rich presents provided we arrived in eleven days. Scarcely had we set out, when guns were fired for ships coming in to anchor. The Europeans there said that the Captain of the ship told them that fifteen ships had sailed when he did and that they would arrive shortly. The Governor asked us if there was any news. We said what we have just told you; and he ordered us to spread the news.'

Friday, March 15.[1]—As the Governor was reading the letters from Europe received last night, and writing a reply to the letter from Mahé, nothing of note happened this morning. This evening he gave me a letter for Mahé to be despatched with ten peons. I therefore sent ten peons with it. Then he sent a letter for Kârikâl. I told two peons that it was to be taken by the Chidambaram runners. Then he sent for me. I went and salaamed. He asked how many bullock-loads had been received in the bazaar. I took the account and read it to him. He said, 'You seem rather put out; this is the first time I have seen you to-day; what's the matter?' I said, 'I came this morning; as you were busy, I went back to my nut-godown and attended to my business.' He answered, 'But you seem annoyed.' I replied, 'You have always treated me kindly, so

[1] 6th Panguni, Prabhava.

many are jealous, and have made it their business to tell you this and that against me. You are always questioning me, and I am always answering, and that is all the business we get through. You cannot reply to what I say; why should there be any misunderstanding between us? Those who tell you that my post should be held by a Christian will be pleased if I behave thus; and if I seem discontented you will appoint another to carry on the business. That is why I behave so.' The Governor said, 'You must think me a fool; else, you would not talk so.'

Saturday, March 16.[1]—When I went to the Governor's this morning and salaamed, he asked me if I had heard of the arrival of a ship at Mahé and the receipt of letters from Europe. I replied, 'I have heard of the arrival of the ship and of the letters, but I don't know what they say. I should have known, if I made a habit of going to European houses. I leave my house only to come here or go to the nut-godown. I hear no news but what you tell me.' The Governor said, 'The English attacked Normandy with fifty men-of-war; but as God was against them, a storm arose, forty-six ships were sunk, and only four escaped. Fifteen thousand of those on board were lost[2]. The English are unlucky just now, or such things would not happen. Besides this, the Dutch have joined us and declared

[1] 7th Panguni, Prabhava.

[2] I do not know whence Dupleix derived this story.

war against the English.[1] Just as the war here was ended by the capture of Madras, so it will be ended in Europe, as the Dutch have declared war.' I replied, 'There is no doubt of it. Is it not clear from their fearing to approach your town with twenty ships? I know not what you think; but I believe that the English have reached the zenith of their power and there is an ill time before them. I am sure the English cannot hold their factories. For example, when you attacked Madras, they surrendered it without resistance, like men, drunk with intoxicating drugs, giving up all they possess. Their Bengal factories owe a hundred lakhs of rupees, and they also will be lost, as you say. Even Fort St. David will surely be taken by the month of Vaigâsi[2]. Everywhere their affairs are threatened, and I think they cannot hold out much longer. Were it their time of prosperity such things would not happen.'—'It is true,' he said.

Meanwhile M. Duquesne arrived from camp; and while I was speaking with him, the Governor sent for Appu and said, 'I hear that Sadayappa Mudali is appropriating the money paid by the people of the out-villages at Madras instead of paying it to the Company, and that he is imprisoning them.' Appu replied, 'Sadayappa Mudali would not keep back the

[1] On April 17, 1747, Louis XV declared himself compelled to break with the United Provinces; in a few months Dutch troops were to appear beside the English before Pondichery!

[2] *i.e.*, May–June.

collections, as he is responsible to the Company whether the people pay or not. What they say is false. His accusers say this because they themselves have stolen the money.' Thereon he said, 'I will tell M. Barthélemy to punish them.' He then turned to me and said, 'Rangappa, I am going out for stroll. Come with me.'—'I am ready,' I replied. He laughed, and, just as he was going to reply, five Englishmen arrived who had deserted from Fort St. David and said that they had been sent here by M. Latour. Thereupon Schonamille[1] was sent for and told to interpret. He asked why they had come and they said that they had run away because they were given too much to do. He called me and said, 'See how the English soldiers are deserting.' I replied, 'Of the eight who deserted, five have come in here and it is not known where the others are; they should be asked about it.' Then he said to Schonamille, 'Ask them how many left the place.' At once they answered as I had just said, that of the eight who had run away, five were here and three had gone into the Muhammadan territory. The Governor laughed and said, 'How did you know this?' I said politely, 'I learnt it by your favour; is it astonishing? If they are now sent to the hospital and summoned again this

[1] Corneille Schonamille, son of the late Director in Bengal of the Imperial Company; it will be remembered that he had acted as English interpreter to La Bourdonnais at Madras. He married Ursule Vincens in 1743.

evening, they will tell you all the news there from beginning to end.' He agreed with me and told Schonamille to send them to the hospital. They were sent to the hospital accordingly.

I told the Governor the choultry news, namely, that nine hundred and forty bullock-loads of paddy had come in. M. Cornet then came and said to the Governor, 'M. Lucas has not yet supplied goods for the pagodas advanced to him. Ranga Pillai should be told to write and find out whether the goods have been purchased and whether they will be sent or whether he has run away. Also Nawâb Zain-ud 'Alî Khân has not yet sent wheat for the money we have sent.' The Governor turned to me and said, 'Write and tell Zain-ud'Alî Khân to send wheat at once for the 1,600 rupees we have advanced.' I replied, 'We wrote to him only the day before yesterday. Let us see his reply and then I will write what may be necessary.' Then I came home, telling M. Cornet that I would visit and speak with him about M. Lucas' affair.

One Gôpâlaswâmi who went to Chidambaram on the 5th or 6th January 1747 meaning soon to return, came and saw me this afternoon, when I was about to have my oil bath. He had said, 'In the period of Venus and the sub-period of Saturn you will fall sick and the town be beset with troubles.' Remembering his words, he went wandering to Râmêsvaram, Tinnevelly, and those parts, and as his nephew had sold the village of Nirâsi he served

Krishna Pillai who is employed under Mîr Ghulâm Husain; and with his help succeeded in his business. Even when he could hardly keep himself, he was always inquiring the news about this place, and as affairs have by God's grace prospered he has returned. He said in a complimentary manner, 'Because I am ignorant, stupid and unlucky, I have wandered everywhere, undergone hardships and now have returned as I was destined to see you. Forgive my faults and protect me.' I said, 'Why should I be angry with you? What harm have you done to me? I lose nothing by your return, even as I gained nothing by your going. You went on your own business and have returned.' When I said these words, he took leave.

Sunday, March 17.[1]—When I went to the Governor's this morning, there was nothing to do as it was Sunday. At ten o'clock Gerbault came and said to the Governor, 'It is difficult to get bullocks and so we cannot get stone for the works. The choultry people should be ordered to see that bullocks are supplied so that we may get stone enough.' Thereupon the Governor called me and said, 'Rangappa, you must see to the business from to-day, and give orders to the bullock people so that there may be plenty of stone and the work may not be hindered.' I took leave and went to the nut-godown. After this Gerbault came to me and said,

[1] 8th Panguni, Prabhava.

'The whole town is against me. I do not know what they will say to the Governor against me in order to bring me into trouble. I am noways to blame.' I said, 'Why should people blame you? and why should you be troubled at it?' With these and other polite words, I dismissed him.

A letter was received this evening from Venkatanâranappa Ayyan who went to Seringapatam. It said:—'After settling the matter, I received a parwâna for the release of the Europeans at Sêndamangalam, and agreed to give a certain sum in charity to the Gangâdhara Îswaran Temple; and then went to Salem accompanied by a man belonging to Bhavâni Dâs, a Guzarâti and younger brother of the deceased Gôpâl Dâs who formerly went with Sambu Dâs from Seringapatam to Râmêsvaram and returned. Hence I am going to Sêndamangalam to obtain the release of the Europeans and to return.' I thought at first of telling this to the Governor, but it seems hardly wise to do so, for perhaps when Venkatanârana Ayyan goes from Salem to Sêndamangalam with the parwâna to get the prisoners released, there may be a disagreement. They may break their word and who knows what may happen? When all is known and he has got their release and he writes to tell us so, I will tell the Governor at once, but not now.

At eight o'clock to-night a letter was received from Vakîl Subbayyan at Arcot, saying that Mutyâlu Nâyakkan intended to leave there to-day after

taking leave of the Nawâb and his friends. I came home; as it was nine o'clock I thought I might as well tell this news to the Governor to-morrow morning. Then there is no other news. There was the fire-walking festival to-day in the Dharmarâjâ temple at my Tiruvêngadapuram choultry.

Monday, March 18.[1]—I went to the Governor this morning and told him that I had received a letter last night written at Arcot on Friday, saying that Mutyâlu Nâyakkan would take leave of the Nawâb and set out on Saturday evening by way of Gingee. The Governor called 'Abd-ul-rahmân who was there and told him to be ready to start to-night with a hundred horse and ammunition. He also called me and said, 'Station some of your people at all the necessary points to bring news at once.' Immediately I sent for Malayappan and said, 'Send for thirty peons, give them a chakram each, post them out as far as Chêtpattu and tell them to bring in news frequently.' With these words, I made him send them out.

Afterwards, M. Cornet came and said to the Governor, 'About the broad-cloth bought at outcry by Arcot Muttayyan, I will give a receipt to Rangappan for 4,000 rupees paid to Avây Sâhib and shall adjust it in the account for paddy bought for the Company at the bazaar.' The Governor said that what was owed by Muttayyan should be entered

[1] 9th Panguni, Prabhava.

in my account and in the account for paddy bought and a receipt should be given for the whole amount. I replied, 'I agree to the 4,000 rupees, but I have nothing to do with the other sum.'—'Don't you think it will be paid?' he asked. I said, 'It may be received some time or other; but that is no use because paddy must be bought for ready money.' He desired me to warn them and get the balance paid. Thereon I sent a peon to Muttayya Mudali and his partners, Ayyan Perumâl and Kuppi Chetti of Wandiwash, with strict orders to pay what they owed at once and settle their accounts. Afterwards, I went to the nut-godown. For the amount due from the Company's merchants for Christmas, I took one thousand star pagodas to M. Cornet and asked him to give me 3,400 rupees for them. He said that he could not give somuch and gave me 3,200 rupees.[1] I took them, intending to obtain the remainder and give the 4,000 rupees this evening.

At noon, I went to the Company's godown, where some thin English broad-cloth belonging to the merchants was sold at outcry as it was worm-eaten. I went there and bought some. Before I arrived, they had sold both the broad women's upper cloths and some of the thin cloth both at four months' credit, and at a profit of

[1] I do not well understand why Ranga Pillai was satisfied with 320 rupees per 100-pagodas. The rate of exchange at this time at Fort St. David was much higher. Possibly there was a scarcity of silver at this time in Pondichery, owing to the delayed arrival of Europe ships and the stoppage of French traffic to Manilla and the Red Sea.

one-eighth and one-sixteenth of a pagoda a yard for the latter and at a profit of half and five-eighths of a pagoda per bundle for the former. If they had been kept and sold later, they would have fetched more; but as they were common property, and nobody looked after them, they were growing worm-eaten.

At four o'clock this afternoon I went to the place of the fishing dam and ordered it to be got ready soon and returned to the nut-godown at six o'clock when I received a letter from Vakîl Subbayyan at Arcot. It said, 'Mutyâlu Nâyakkan has taken leave of the Nawâb who gave him twenty-five horse and fifty peons. His people amount to 150 horse and 400 peons; and with these, he went on Saturday to Tiruviti Sêshâchala Chetti's Choultry where he was entertained. After partaking of the feast, he left that evening and marched south by way of Tiruvannâmalai instead of by Gingee as had been formerly arranged and only when he was due west of Fort St. David did he approach it.' When I told this to the Governor, he said, 'No matter; what use would he have been to us?' So, I sent for Malayappan and told him to recall the 30 peons sent this morning.

At seven o'clock this evening, I gave to Ranga Pillai, the Governor's writer, the 4,000 rupees agreed on as the merchants' Christmas present.

[*Tuesday, March 19.*[1]]—As to-day was the Governor's name-day, first three volleys and then three salutes of great guns were fired, as usual, when the

[1] Dupleix' name-day was March 19. I conjecture the copyist has nadvertently omitted the date.

Governor went to the Church and heard mass. Then when he returned to his house, I, Tarwâdi and others paid our respects and offered him limes. He looked out of temper. When he went down to breakfast, I went to my nut-godown, stayed there till noon, and then came home. There is no important news.

At half-past four, a cadjan letter was received from Venkatanâranappa Ayyan from Sêndamangalam. It says, 'I have reached Sêndamangalam. The prisoners will be set free as soon as the two thousand rupees are paid. I have told the Europeans that a peon is coming in two or three days and that, as soon as he has arrived, they will be released. They are impatient and have also written to the Governor.'

As it was the Governor's name-day feast, there was great crowd and bustle and I heard no other news of importance.

Wednesday, March 20.[1]—The Governor sent for me this morning and said, 'This is a letter from Vijaya Râm.[2] Do not show it to the Brâhman Persian interpreter. As it is written in Telugu, you can read it yourself.' I said, 'I will read it and tell you its contents.'—'Very well,' he said; 'have not the Company's merchants come to see me?' I replied, 'They are all ready and will come soon.

[1] 11th Panguni, Prabhava.

[2] i.e. Vijaya Râm Râjâ, the greatest Zamindar of the Northern Circars. The letter probably related to the sale of paddy sent down the Coast. On March $\frac{17}{28}$ the English received a letter from Sampâti Râo, desiring their assistance in the sale of Vijaya Râm Râjâ's grain.

Give me a diamond ring for them and I will settle the amount with them and let you know.' He said, 'Very well, do as you please.' Thereupon, I gave the merchants the diamond ring and brought them before the Governor. They came with limes and presented with respects their congratulations on the feast. Then the Governor said, 'Am I such a hard task-master?' They replied very respectfully, 'My Lord, it is true. Whom have we after God but you?'—'No doubt,' he said, 'but one or two don't think so. What does the town think?' They answered, 'Do not believe that. People may say so out of jealousy; but tell them to prove it and it will all appear false. There is no better town to live in than this in the kingdom, nor any one so glorious as you.' So they praised him in the choicest words. He then asked them politely, 'What do your Shastras say?' They answered, 'The merchants all say that ships will come in April and in May the white flag will assuredly be hoisted in Fort St. David.' They said this, as it should be said, in a befitting manner; and thereon the Governor was overjoyed and dismissed them, sprinkling rose-water and distributing pân supârî with the exchange of compliments.

Then the mint people came with a roll of silk and a bracelet weighing twenty pagodas, to pay their respects. The Governor said that their good wishes were enough and gave them rose-water and pân supârî, giving me the bracelet and saying, 'They

are very big people.' I gave it at once to Bâpu Râo and sent him away, saying that the Governor had said angrily that he would not receive it without money. Bâpu Râo said that he would come presently and settle the matter. I said, 'Very well, you had better go.'

When I was going to the nut-godown, I was again sent for by the Governor. When I went, he asked whether any others were coming to visit him. I said that they would come to-morrow. He began to talk about what Kandâl Guruvappa Chetti owed for the out-villages and the money still due for the appointment of a man in place of the deceased Tândavarâya Pillai. I said, 'People do not obey me now as they used to. If I give any orders, they disobey and dispute what I say. When I send for them, they will scarcely come. As they seem to be under other people's orders, I can do nothing, lest some one should be found fault with.' On this he looked up at the ceiling, and then said, 'Well, such things shall not happen again; but you must attend to business as closely as before.' I answered, 'Do you not know what has happened? Just the same will happen again.' So saying, I salaamed and went to the nut-godown.

Then I spoke with the Company's merchants about certain matters, and said, 'You have seen the Governor's pleasure and his kindness towards you,' and so dismissed them. I then came home. Only Nallatambi Chetti and Arunâchala Chetti followed

me and said, 'Head-peon Muttu tells us that a few pagodas were sent to you from Udaiyârpâlaiyam as the price of some goods that were sold and other goods which you had sent were returned. A letter came along with them but was stopped at the town-gate and taken to the Governor's as usual. The letter was kept back and it is said that Madame means to read it and show it to the Governor before returning it. It is only a reply about the goods that were sent, there was nothing else in it; but she wants it in order to show that goods have been carried out and brought back.' I said, 'There is nothing to fear if only what you say is written and there is nothing about the governments of Fort St. David or Pondichery. But if the Governor learns of this, he will get angry with Madame and say that it is not right to read other people's letters.' Then I told them what the Governor had said to me and what I had replied when he sent for me this afternoon as I was returning after bringing them to the Governor. Arunâchala Chetti said, 'As the Governor has told you to give orders as you used to and said that he would stop his wife's proceedings, you must think that your good days have now begun.' He said this when we were in the inner part [1] of my house, and just then, Muttu, Vîrâ Pillai's son, entered the house with an ivory cradle, pân supârî, plantains, sandal, and flowers in honour of my child,

[1] To which only intimate friends are admitted.

carried by women wearing the tâli[1]. He showed them to me and they were carried in. Close after him came people who had been observing the Kâman festival[2], with music, dancing girls, flowers, scents and so forth. On seeing this, Arunâchala Chetti exclaimed with great joy, 'This is an excellent omen. Râja Lakshmi has entered your house.[3] Henceforth you will enjoy every pleasure and your least word will be obeyed. As the proof of it, never have I before seen Lakshmi entering a house.' He then took leave saying that he would return after taking food. Remembering what the Governor had said regarding my alarm at Madame's conduct for the last two or three months, and the omen which I had just seen in the house, I rejoiced, thinking that my time of prosperity had begun; and I then ate in great content with the relatives and friends who had brought the cradle.

Thursday, March 21.[4]—When I went to the Governor this morning, he amused himself as he used to do by talking of the affairs of Fort St. David. He said everything he could think of

[1] The *tâli* is a gold ornament worn round the neck as a sign of marriage but removed on widowhood. Ranga Pillai's phrase thus excludes widows, who are inauspicious.

[2] A festival to Kâman or Manmadan, the Indian Cupid, celebrated in some places in March, observed especially by Marathi Brâhmans. Cf. *supra* p. 432.

[3] i.e., Lakshmi, the Goddess of Kingdoms; in the present case she seems to have been represented by the women wearing *tâlis*; and the concluding remark (that he has never seen such a thing before) is intended merely as auspicious, not literally true.

[4] 12th Panguni, Prabhava.

against the English, called them a wretched people, unable to beget children, and added, 'How can they bear to see Mutyâlu Nâyakkan return having wasted so much money without getting anything for it?'[1] In order to produce an impression on the Governor's mind, I answered, 'As the English treat their people kindly, they let him spend whatever he pleases and accept whatever he can obtain for them. That is why Madras and Fort St. David are so full of Tamils.' He moved away as though he had not heard what I said.

I went to the nut-godown after reporting the choultry news. When I was writing my diary there, I was told that the Governor had sent for me again. When I went, he told me to translate into French for him the letter received yesterday from Vijaya Râm Râjâ. I wrote it in French and gave it to him.

I also reported to him the news in the Persian letter from Chittipilâl, gumasta of Mîr Muhammad 'Alî of Masulipatam, in the following words, 'When Chittipilâl was sailing by Pulicat with seven hundred Bengal maunds of rice and wheat, he was pursued by some English ships, but escaped to Masulipatam, unladed there and entrusted the grain to the chief of the French factory. Another vessel was bringing five hundred Bengal maunds, but when these were offered to the chief, he said that he

[1] See above p. 378.

had no orders. He should be ordered to receive the five hundred maunds which have been landed and the five hundred maunds which are expected, and the gumasta must be told what to do.' The Governor answered, 'If it was difficult to reach this place or at Madras, at least he could have gone to Pulicat. M. Lenoir at Bunder refused to accept the goods because he did not believe that there were any English ships. Well, we will write about it.' As it was nearly noon, I came home.

Then Vîrâ Nâyakkan came and said, 'A theft was committed in Jnânaprakâsa Pillai's house. Varlâm suspected one of the two peons who were guarding Konda Râjâ in the Nayinâr's house, and put him in custody. He was taken to Varlâm's house yesterday, tied up and beaten with a stick. The peon Manian also beat him with a slipper. Then the head-peon Muttu came and beat him and told him to confess that he stole the things because the Nayinâr persuaded him to. He replied that he had been ordered to watch in the Nayinâr's house for five or six days before the theft took place, and asked why when thus innocent he should be tied up and beaten to death with a slipper. When Kandappan, the Commissary's writer,[1] came and told him to say all he could against the Nayinâr, he said that he could not do so because he knew nothing about it. Thereupon he was taken back to the Nayinâr's

[1] Ranga Pillai calls him 'the army accountant.' The Commissary was a member of Council, charged with supervising the pay, etc., of the troops.

house and kept there. The key was given to two of the Company's peons and another peon was ordered to look after them. This happened last night. This morning Madame ordered the removal of the Company's peons who were guarding the Brâhman Konda Râjâ and the others. She also ordered that nothing should be said about the peons watching in the Nayinâr's house or about a peon's having been beaten. Varlâm has removed the peons.' I replied, 'People in the town say that, if they who live on refuse and pick up bits of broken china and who never have seen even a cash are made peons and allowed to exercise authority, the government of M. Dupleix will resemble the state of the town which traded in cucumbers. People fear false charges being made against them, God only knows how much. They are greatly agitated and are eagerly expecting the time when this ill wind will cease and a good wind blow. But this furious wind will cease only when God begins to protect the people.' I told Vîrâ Nâyakkan also to tell all this to M. Delarche. He agreed and desired me to tell everything to Muruga Pillai. 'Very well,' I said, and dismissed him.

The Governor sent for me this evening and said, 'M. Desfresnes has come and complained to me that Chandâ Sâhib's son came into M. Paradis' garden, behaved impertinently, broke off bunches of grapes and beat the gardeners.' I answered, 'He has never done such a thing till now, and I do not think

he can have done so. However I will send word.' So saying, I went to the nut-godown and sent word to Chandâ Sâhib's son by Madanânda Pandit who returned with an answer that nothing of the sort had happened.

Friday, March 22 [1]—When I went to the Governor's house this morning, I gave him the letter received last night from Vêttavalam Tândavarâya Pandâri together with Mutyâlu Nâyakkan's letter to him. The contents of the letters to the Governor and to me are as follows:—'I send herewith the letter written to me by Mutyâlu Nâyakkan, the English dubâsh. If you wish me to seize and punish him as he deserves, I will do so. I am only waiting for your orders.' The letter from Mutyâlu Nâyakkan to the Pandâri said, 'I was ordered to speak to Imâm Sâhib about certain matters when I went to Nizâm-ud-daulah. But as I did not go to Nizâm's camp, and as Imâm Sâhib was not in the camp of Nâsîr Jang who was acting under the orders of Nizâm, I could not speak to him. Please see that no supplies and help are sent to Pondichery but send help to the English of Madras and Fort St. David. Parwânas of Hazrat Nâsîr Jang Nizâm-ud-daulah have been sent to you.[2] Receive them with respect. If you want anything done in the governments of Nizâm-ud-daulah or Âsaf Jâh, the Nawâb, I shall see to it. May our friendship increase. I

[1] 18th Panguni, Prabhava. [2] See above page 420, n. 2.

will write of other matters as soon as I reach Fort St. David.'

When I said to the Governor that, although Mutyâlu Nâyakkan had accomplished nothing, yet he wrote boastfully, he smiled and said, 'Mutyâlu Nâyakkan has learnt how to brag well.' I said, 'Yes, he is a boaster; and so he can get on with Englishmen; but that would not do for the French.' I then asked what should be written to the Pandâri. He replied, 'It is thoughtless of us to have done nothing.'—'True,' I said, 'you gave orders at first as though you were in earnest, but then you spoke indifferently, and so I did nothing, thinking it was useless for me to speak since your mind was such.' The Governor then told me to write politely that he should be seized with all his goods if on the arrival of the letter he were still at Vêttavalam and what should be done if he already had departed. He told me also to give ten pagodas as a present to the messengers. So I wrote a polite letter and another one according to the Governor's orders and sent them by the peons along with Mutyâlu Nâyakkan's letter to the Pandâri, of which I took a copy. I also gave them thirty rupees as a present.

Then I wrote a receipt in the name of M. Cornet stating that what Muttayya Mudali of Arcot owed would be made good in the account for paddy that the Company would buy, and that the amount would be adjusted in the paddy

account. I gave this to M. Boyelleau. Then I went to the Governor's. M. Cornet came and told him that paddy was not coming in from the villages. I said that a hundred garse had come in. When he denied this, I told the Governor that I had his receipt and would produce it to-morrow. Thereupon the Governor told me to buy only five or six hundred garse. I told him that much paddy was expected from Utramallûr and Sâlavâkkam and that it might be bought out of that. He ordered me not to forget about it. 'I will remember, Sir,' I said, and then came home.

Then I heard that a Brâhman of Venkatâmpêttai and one of Imâm Sâhib's golla peons had been robbed and murdered near Vellimêdu in Wandiwash as they were bringing from Arcot 670 rupees and 8 star pagodas, in payment of the broad-cloth bought of Muttayya Mudali; and that their bodies had been hidden in a loft. I told the Governor as soon as I heard this.

At half-past four to-day, the Governor sent for me to the place where batteries are being built before the North Gate. When I went, he said, 'I am told that the chunam-burners at Âlankuppam have run away, because their contract was nearly out. Malayappan, who has been managing the kilns, demanded his arrears but they could not pay them. Send for him; I want to speak to him.' Accordingly I sent for Malayappan and said to the Governor I had heard nothing of all this—no one

had told me. He replied, 'I sent you the European who brought me the news. Did he not go to you?' When I said he had not, he answered, 'Henceforth you must manage everything connected with the kilns at Âlankuppam. No one else is to see to them.' I agreed. Then he got into his carriage and drove to the Cuddalore gate; I went to the nut-godown.

Jemadar 'Abd-ul-rahmân went to the Governor at eight o'clock and said as follows:—'I hear by a woman that three hundred Mahé sepoys along with Bikkan Khân who is lying in prison there have agreed to come here. As Mr. Floyer, the Governor of Fort St. David, goes out for a drive in the evenings as far as the Bound-hedge, and once every two or three days to the Marikrishnâpuram barrier, I have arranged for them to seize and bring him here with his carriage. They should be given a cowle.' To this, the Governor said, 'They shall be kept here and given large pay and moreover receive 10,000 rupees as a present. Give a present of 30 rupees to the woman who came and told you the news, and send 150 rupees to those who are there.' He gave him a cowle and told him to arrange also to capture the Commodore, Mr. Griffin. 'Abd-ul-rahmân said that he would do so, gave the woman who came here with the news the rupees mentioned above and sent her back this very night. I think this may well be carried out. This is an unlucky time for the English, but one bringing great fortune and

glory to the master. I think Mr. Floyer or Mr. Griffin will certainly be caught and put to shame. But we must await God's will.

Saturday, March 23.[1]—I went to the Governor to-day and reported to him the choultry news, that 1,257 bullock-loads of paddy had come in. I also told him that Mutyâlu Nâyakkan had reached Manalûrpêttai, that he would proceed to Fort St. David by way of Panruti and would be at Tiruvennanallûr to-morrow.

He then asked me how our money affairs with Tarwâdi stood. I replied that he could not be relied on, but that we might be sure of the business proposed to Taqî Sâhib of Wandiwash through Mîr Diyânat-ul-lah. He asked me what Tarwâdi's master thought about it. I said that nothing had been heard since the goods were sent; and he observed that he must be persuaded to come here.

Savari's maistry Malayappan came, and the Governor said to him, 'You are not allowing the people at Âlankuppam to live. You have pressed them for arrears which they cannot pay, and they have run away.' He replied, 'I only took a note from them, but never urged them to pay.' The Governor answered, 'Why did you go to the village if not to ask them for the money?' Malayappan said that he went to look after the crops. The Governor told him to leave the crops to me. He

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[1] 14th Panguni, Prabhava.

said 'I will, Sir; I will not go near the village.' The Governor said, 'Very good; but if you do go, you shall be punished.' He said he would not go anywhere near the village, and departed as fast as he could. The Governor turned to me and said, 'Henceforth you must manage all the kilns within the Company's limits.' I said I would do so. Nothing else happened this morning.

This evening, I was told that the Governor had sent for me; but after I left the nut-godown to go to the Governor's, I met Arulânandan, the Catechist, who said that he had been sent to me by Father Cœurdoux, the Superior of St. Paul's Church. He also said, 'The Marathas observed the Kâman festival; I have been told to ask whether you gave them permission or got leave from the Governor.'—'Indeed,' I replied, 'hear what I have to say. Can I give orders in these matters without the Governor's authority? Shaikh 'Abd-ul-rahmân, the Mahé Jemadar, asked the Governor's permission and it was granted. I certainly told the Governor that they observe the festival.' The Catechist answered, 'The priest told me that this festival was observed at the time of the Maratha invasion, but that Kanakarâya Mudali stopped its observance in the following year. As it is being celebrated again, he told me to ask you about it.' I said, 'This festival has been observed every year; but two years ago, as Mêlugiri Pandit's and Srînivâsa Pandit's sons went to Kanakarâya Mudali's house and spoke obscenely

before his womenfolk, Kanakarâya Mudali went and told the Governor that people were using unmentionable words whenever they met a woman in the streets and that, if they wished to do so, they should do it in their own houses, not in the streets or other people's homes. But though orders against this were given, there was never a year in which the festival was not celebrated. I have seen it for the last twenty-five years; but it has been celebrated by more persons ever since this Governor and the Mahé sepoys came, as the townspeople cannot afford to celebrate it with much splendour; neither do they go to others' houses and speak obscene words, and I have never seen them behaving insolently in the streets. Why should we go so far back? The Governor who gave permission last year is still here; and the Mahé sepoys who celebrated it are still here; ask them about it. The Governor has been here six years and he knows what orders have been given. Ask him.' Arulânandan took leave and went away, saying, 'Very well, I will tell the Superior.'

Then I went to the Governor's. As soon as he saw me, he came to me and asked if I had enquired about Chandâ Sâhib's son's going into M. Paradis' garden. I said, 'They say they have been here for the last eight or nine years, that they have visited every garden in the town without any complaint having been made, and that the present charge is false.' He seemed not to hear what

I said, and went into his writing-room calling for a candle. On my arrival the Governor was talking with Madame in the central hall. When he went into his room, she followed him; so I went away to the nut-godown.

Sunday, March 24.[1]—To-day a letter was received from Imâm Sâhib at Aurangabad as follows:—'I wrote to you to give 5 cawnies of land to Khâlif Khân's son for a house and garden. You have not done so. If you cannot give so much, I ask that at least two cawnies and a half may be given him for my sake. Why do you keep up so large an army?' He also asked for the release of the Madras goods and for a hundred candies of lead. I also read to the Governor Munawar-ud-dîn Khân's letter of congratulation. He asked me if the lead had not yet been weighed out. When I said it had not, he told me not to do so. He remarked that Imâm Sâhib wrote like that because the goods were not his. Without replying to this, I reported the choultry news about the paddy received and went to the nut-godown.

In the afternoon, I went and saw the fishing dam and then went to the nut-godown in the evening. I heard nothing further worth writing.

Monday, March 25.[2]—Yesterday, Venkatakrishna Ayyangâr brought letters from M. Mainville at

[1] 15th Panguni, Prabhava. [2] 16th Panguni, Prabhava.

Sêndamangalam to the Governor, to me, to Madame Mainville and M. Leyrit, and a letter from M. Changeac. He says that the Europeans have been released and are staying in a choultry on this side of the Fort, that they will proceed as soon as they have arranged for dhoolies and so forth, and so he is the bearer of good news. He says also that Venkatanâranappa Ayyan will bring presents for the Governor and me after sending the Europeans on. Venkatanâranappa Ayyan also wrote saying, 'The first bill of exchange for 2,000 rupees and that now sent by Tarwâdi on Kâsi Dâs Bukkanji for 2,000 rupees--in all 4,000 rupees—have been received. If you had written to me that you were sending this sum, I could have obtained rich presents and great honour before I left; but we only received the bills for 4,000 rupees after we had started. I have procured dhoolies for the Europeans and they have set out. I will write to Bhavân Dâs of Mysore about this and leave as soon as I receive his orders. I request that a quarter of a garse of paddy may be sent to my house.' He added that he had taken great pains, that he would furnish all details when he arrived, and that two presents, each consisting of a mirror, two small knives, two pairs of scissors and two China fans should be sent for the commandant of Sêndamangalam Fort and the Reddi of the country.

M. Mainville wrote to me very politely, saying, 'The Brâhman has come with the Râjâ's orders,

and we have been released from the Fort. We are now staying in a choultry outside the town. God has taken pity on our misfortunes and prospered your efforts for our release. We are deeply obliged to you for your kindness, and God will reward you with all prosperity. We are expecting letters from you. Your Brâhman took great pains about us and, though it is very difficult to get dhooli-bearers, he is doing his best to get some. As soon as they have been found, we shall start, and we are greatly obliged to you and to the Governor for your assistance.'

The Governor had gone to Church on account of the feast; but, as soon as he returned, I gave him M. Mainville's letters and told him the news. I cannot write how glad the Governor was when he heard of M. Mainville's release and read his letter. He kept the letter in his hand, showed it to nearly thirty Europeans who were there, saying to them politely, 'M. Mainville and M. Changeac have been released and have left for Mahé. They were set free on Tuesday, the 19th of this month—my name-day.' Then he told me to give twenty rupees to the Brâhman who brought the news.

Thereon the Governor gave M. Duquesne the letters for Madame Mainville and M. Leyrit and called M. Bertrand and told him to write a reply to M. Mainville congratulating him on his release and asking him to proceed to Mahé as fast as he could. M. Bertrand wrote a letter accordingly, got it

signed by the Governor and sealed it. I also wrote letters to the same effect to M. Mainville and Venkatanâranappa Ayyan, and sent them off by Venkatakrishna Ayyangâr who set out for Sênda-mangalam. I also gave letters to Dêvarâjâ, who commands the frontier, and Dêvarâja Reddi the headman of that place with a mirror, two pairs of scissors, two small knives and a China fan for each. God knows how much trouble I have taken in this matter to get them released without giving forty or fifty thousand rupees or pagodas. I have spent out of my own money 6,000 rupees and obtained their release. The Company has not spent a single cash up to now. We shall see what the Governor will do.

Tuesday, March 26.[1]—The Governor held a Council this morning and it is said that the dispute between M. Porcher and Venkata Reddi has been decided in the former's favour; and that Venkata Reddi's property has been given to him. Many other matters also were decided in the Council. The Governor sent for me, after the Council broke up, at ten o'clock, and said, 'What about the money transaction we proposed to Tarwâdi?' I replied, 'As you do not believe what I say, I will bring Tarwâdi to you this evening, and you shall know what he himself says.' Then I reported the choultry news.

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[1] 17th Pangunni, Prabhava.

The Governor then said that M. Plaisance[1] had written that Mutyâlu Nâyakkan had passed Valudâvûr and asked if it was true. I replied, 'Mutyâlu Nâyakkan was in great fear of being captured, and so went by Manalûrpêttai, Tiruvannâmalai, Tiruvennanallûr and Tiruviti, harassed and worn to death and leaving everything to fate; he reached Fort St. David at noon the day before yesterday.' When I asked why he had gone by Valudâvûr and Villiyanallûr, the Governor said that M. Plaisance had only written what people said. I said, 'Surely not; I thought the Tamils were very stupid people who believed whatever was said to them, but that Europeans were different. I thought they were a discerning people. But now I have learnt that there are many Europeans like M. Plaisance, as stupid as asses and more foolish than Tamils.' The Governor laughed and said that the Europeans knew nothing of the customs of the country. I replied that, even those who had lived here for fifteen, twenty or thirty years, still appeared to be very stupid.

Then the Governor talked to the nephew of M. Élias who had just come. I took leave, went to the nut-godown, and then came home. As Tarwâdi

[1] I believe the oldest officer in the French service after Bury. Antoine la Roche Bertaut de Plaisance became Lieutenant in 1724, the year in which Bury became Captain, and is probably the person whom Ranga Pillai here mentions. The probability is increased by the remarks below about persons being still ignorant of the country even after twenty or thirty years' residence.

is sick with dysentery, nothing happened this afternoon and so there is nothing worth writing to-day.

Wednesday, March 27[1].—When I took Tarwâdi to the Governor this morning, I interpreted to him what Tarwâdi said about the money transaction. He wanted me to tell Tarwâdi to speak to his master and somehow settle the business. Tarwâdi agreed and went away. I then reported the choultry news and went to the nut-godown.

The Governor again sent for me and asked me what was the news about Bandila Mutyâlu Nâyakkan's arrival. I said that Mutyâlu Nâyakkan had arrived at Tiruvêndipuram from Nâsîr Jang's camp, going by way of Arcot, and that, when he went into town and saw the Governor, Mr. Floyer said to him with great anger, 'You have spent a lakh of pagodas; but have you obtained possession of Madras or brought 10,000 horse to attack Pondichery? Why have you spent so much for nothing?' I added that he was being asked to repay what he had spent, and that he was therefore staying in much anxiety at Pâdirikuppam Châvadi, near the limits, that he was remaining there in great trouble of mind, that difficulties appeared to be awaiting him, but that it was not known what would happen. 'But,' I said, 'I know for certain that the English fortunes will sink to the lowest point about the middle of April; you will learn it by experience.'

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[1] 18th Panguni, Prabhava.

The Governor agreed with me, and, as we were talking about other matters, M. Desfresnes came and the Governor spoke with him. Then I went first to my nut-godown and thence to M. Cornet's, and asked him to show the Chetti samples of the lac-coloured thread. Then we spoke of trivial matters and also of the Company's affairs. I came home at about one o'clock, ate my food and went to sleep. At four o'clock, I went to the place of the fishing dam and told the people that the Governor was going to come there on Friday morning, and that everything must be in order. Then I went to the nut-godown at seven o'clock, and stayed there till half-past eight. There I heard that Tiruvêngada Nâyakkan (brother of Vîrâ Nâyakkan and son of Perumâl Nâyakkan) who was preparing to go to Kârikâl for his son's marriage, had been suffering from colic and looseness, that he had vomited much, had fallen into convulsions, and was growing cold. As he was said to be at the point of death, I went to his house, and it appeared to me from the symptoms, that he would die in the morning. I then came home, after speaking words of consolation to Vîrâ Nâyakkan. At half-past three, Malayappan's peons came and told me that Tiruvêngada Nâyakkan had died at three o'clock. I think Tiruvêngada Nâyakkan was a man very fit to be Poligar; he was clever at catching thieves; but I have never seen even the cleverest escape death at the appointed hour.

Thursday, March 28.[1]—As I was going to the Governor this morning, I met Appu Mudali who said, 'I think the Governor does not mean to visit the dam, for he said to me that the sun was bright and strong here but that there it would be worse.' I was perplexed when I heard this, for I did not understand the reason. I went to the Governor who was walking up and down the verandah, and reported to him the choultry news. I then related as follows the contents of Mîr Husain Khân's letter:—'Some paddy has been grown in the Madras gardens, but the garden people have prevented me from taking the produce. They should be ordered to allow me to do so. As I have been reappointed Killedar of Valudâvûr, I came here[2] ten days ago. Henceforth in all matters treat me as a friend. You have imprisoned the younger brother of Nâttu Saruva Reddi of Valudâvûr for being an English spy and giving them intelligence. Some one must have spoken unjustly of him. Never would he do such a thing. However, I hope you will be pleased to release him.'

When I told all this to the Governor, he said, 'If the garden belongs to one party, the other cannot demand rent; but the Muhammadans must have taken a lease of the Tamils' garden.' I replied that the Muhammadans owned extensive gardens.

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[1] 19th Panguni, Prabhava.

[2] *i.e.*, Valudâvûr.

He then said that he could not release the Reddi who had been spying for the English. As I said nothing, and went out of the room, he called me back and asked why I had gone away without replying. I said, 'I have told you what was written, and I will write a reply according to what you say. Besides, the chobdar who brought this letter brought another to 'Abd-ul-rahmân and saw you this morning on his account. I thought that, as you had given a reply, I had best go and write and send it.'

Then I asked him if he were going to the dam. He answered carelessly, 'How can I go in weather like this?' I have thought over this and suppose that matters are thus:— 'Abd-ul-rahmân has arranged with Bikkan Khân's sepoys to capture and bring in here the Governor of Fort St. David or the Commodore, Mr. Griffin. As 'Abd-ul-rahmân is acting under Madame's orders, that very clever woman must have said to the Governor, 'If you go to the dam, the news will reach Fort St. David and he who has been coming carelessly out to the Bound-hedge will come with guards and so the plan will fail.' When the Governor heard this and spoke to Appu Mudali, that son of a blind woman thought he meant nothing else when he said that the sun was very hot and the day unbearable, and that I had better go.

Afterwards the Governor told me to have the fish sold, and to repay myself the cost of catching them. I said I would do so,

When I was coming home at noon and was passing the arrack-godown, I received letters from Venkatanâranappa Ayyan, M. Mainville and M. Changeac at Sêndamangalam addressed to me, to the Governor, to other officers and to Madame Mainville. I took them to the Governor.

The Governor related to me what M. Mainville wrote, which is as follows :—'With the Brâhman's help we set out for Mahé on Saturday. I am writing this at a place thirty miles on the road. The Brâhman has come with us so far, and he took great trouble to obtain our release from the Râjâ. For the last three or four days he has been at great pains to get us dhoolies and so forth. He should be well received; we are very pleased with him.'

M. Mainville wrote to me to the same effect and M. Changeac recommended him even more strongly. Then I read Venkatanâranappa Ayyan's letter to me.

The Governor's joy was indescribable. He asked if they would not be near Mahé by now, as they set out on Saturday, six days ago. I said they would get there in three or four days. Then I came home for food.

In the afternoon I went to J'afar Sâhib, father of Mîr Ghulâm Husain, and asked for his answer on the affair of supplying the Company's merchants with money. He agreed, and asked me to come again to-morrow. I then took leave, and, having stayed at the nut-godown till nine o'clock, came home. Muttayya Pillai told me that Chinna Parasurâma

Pillai, who has been suffering with his kidneys for the last month, was somewhat better.

Friday, March 29.[1]—When I went to the Governor this morning to report the choultry news, he told me to write as follows to Mîr Husain Khân, the present Killedar of Valudâvûr :— 'I have imprisoned the Reddi because I hear that he has been sending intelligence to Cuddalore. You write on his behalf. As he has been sending news to our enemies, the English, he can only be released in ten days' time. You write that our people have prevented you from taking the produce of your land at Madras. I have ordered them to give up the produce of lands belonging to the Musalmâns without raising difficulties. They cannot now trouble you by saying that the lands are theirs. You should not interfere with gardens belonging to the Tamils, but our people cannot interfere with your gardens. I will write to them. You must also write; and if the garden is yours, and you send your people, the Tamils will give it up. We are very pleased that you are Killedar of Valudâvûr, and congratulate you on it. May our friendship continue.'

The Governor then said, 'I cannot go to the dam. You must go and give me an account of what is spent and how much the catch will bring in. You will give each whatever is necessary, and take six European guards.' Accordingly I went to the

[1] 20th Panguni, Prabhava.

dam, stayed there till evening, gave to each according to his work and returned home at eight o'clock at night, having greatly enjoyed myself. Then I went to Vîrâ Nâyakkan's house, to attend the ceremony of retying the turban, gave him a turban cloth, and then returned home.

Saturday, March 30.[1]—When I went to the Governor this morning, he asked me whether the business with Tarwâdi and Mîr Diyânat-ul-lah had been settled. I replied that letter after letter had been sent, and a reply was expected; that the proposal would not be refused and at least some of the money would be obtained.

Then he asked me about Chandâ Sâhib's coming. I told him what our Arcot Vakîl had written—that it was reported that he would come soon, but that none knew whether he was coming or not. I then reported the choultry news, and went to the nut-godown.

Then Sankara Ayyan came and said that, in a dispute about some land between him and Nârâyana Pillai, who married the niece of Toppai Mudali, Nârâyana Pillai had greatly insulted him. I said, 'What business has he to prevent you from building a wall in your land? I will send for him and give the necessary orders.'

Just then, two peons came and told me that the Governor wanted me. When I went, he said, 'Mîr Muhammad 'Alî's gumasta in Bengal wrote a

[1] 21st Panguni, Prabhava.

Persian letter. You told me about it, but I have forgotten. Tell me again.' I replied, 'Mîr Muhammad 'Alî's gumasta, Chittipilâl, wrote that, when his ship with 700 maunds of wheat and rice was off Pulicat, an English ship pursued it, and, as he could not put into Pulicat, he returned to Masulipatam and entrusted the grain to the Chief of the French factory; but when he brought 500 out of 1,000 maunds which had been ordered, M. Lenoir, the French Chief at Bunder, refused to receive them without your orders. Thereupon he wrote that an order should be sent to M. Lenoir.' To this, the Governor said, 'Well, write to M. Lenoir to receive the 500 maunds of wheat which have arrived as well as the 500 maunds which are coming; but, when he was ordered to put in at Pulicat, what does he mean by delaying and writing falsely that he has been pursued by an English ship and so forced to fly to Masulipatam? The English ships are all off Pondichery and Fort St. David and there are none near Pulicat. Tell him that we will write to his master, Mîr Muhammad 'Alî, in Bengal. Let him deliver all the goods to M. Lenoir and then set sail for Bengal.' I wrote a Persian letter accordingly and gave it to M. Bertrand who sealed it along with the letter written to M. Lenoir by the Governor, and put it into the packet instead of giving it to the person who came from Masulipatam.

Afterwards I went to the nut-godown. While I was there a letter came, addressed to the Gov-

ernor by Mrityunjayan who is serving under Kâma Râjâ, the warehouse writer at Yânâm. It said, 'M. Choisy borrowed from my father 4,600 rupees and gave a bond. When my father died, M. Choisy sent for me and said that he would see the bond and pay the amount of it. I answered that I was known to the Company, that I was a servant of the Company, and gave him the bond desiring him to examine it. He took the bond and said he would repay the money, but he delayed and then went to Bunder. Then my mother narrated all this to Vallûru Anantanna, a servant of the Company, and requested him to ask M. Choisy when the money would be paid. He asked him accordingly, but M. Choisy said that he was going to Bunder and that he would send the money as soon as he got there. But M. Choisy went there and died. Thereon I wrote to M. Lenoir (who was Second here, and who has known me since my father's time) that we had borrowed the money for the loan from the sowcars; that they were now pressing me, that his benevolence was like the benevolence of the Company, and that we could pay the sowcars and live happy if he would be pleased to get the money for us.

'Further, M. de Libaut [1] owes me 1,500 rupees. He had paid 600 rupees, and 900 rupees are yet due. Be pleased to see that the amount is paid to us. I

[1] I suppose this to be one of the two sons of Claude Libaut, a Ganges Pilot, who died in 1708. *Reg. du. Cons. Sup.*, i., 8.

now hold my father's office, but M. de Libaut takes away my pay. On this account I am sending Vîrannan to explain matters in person.' Thus he wrote politely. As it was then noon, I did not relate this to the Governor but came home. I shall tell him to-morrow.

At five o'clock this evening, the sound of guns was heard from the ships at Cuddalore and Fort St. David. On enquiry, I heard that the presents which Mutyâlu Nâyakkan had brought from the Nawâb and Nâsîr Jang had not at first been received as he had spent large sums to the northwards without getting any return; although it is six or seven days since he returned, the matter was only settled today and the presents accepted. Hence the salutes.

Sunday, March 31.[1]—I thought up to yesterday that the funeral ceremonies for Lakshmanan, my dear Pâpâl's husband, who died on January 26 last had been duly performed by Muttayya Pillai; but as I then learnt they had not been, I resolved to get them performed by his brother, Akka Pillai. So I went with him and our friends and relations to Sunguvâr's garden, and performed the Nârâyana Bali[2]. Then I went to the Governor's and reported the choultry news.

The Governor asked why salutes were fired yesterday at Fort St. David. I replied indifferently

[1] 22nd Panguni, Prabhava.

[2] An offering (generally inexpensive) made on behalf of persons who die without heirs or in destitution.

that it was because of the reception of Nâsîr Jang's presents, which at first had been left outside the town. The Governor seemed quite careless about the news and said, 'You told me that there was news of the arrival of some Maratha horse. No one knows anything about it.' I replied, 'Owing to the fear caused by the rumoured Maratha invasion, all the goods have been removed from Lâlâpêttai into the forts at Arcot, Wandiwash, Mahimandalam and Kâvêripâkkam. There is a panic at Arcot.' When I said this, the Governor told me to find out about it. When he said this, it occurred to me that, if the Marathas came, the people at Arcot would be busy defending themselves and then we could settle everything about Fort St. David in spite of Nâsîr Jang's parwâna to Arcot to assist the English. So I said to the Governor, 'As bad times have begun for the English, they cannot get any help from Arcot, as you will see. Have any of my prophecies been unfulfilled? Now also it will be the same. You will learn so by and by.' I then spoke with the Governor of other matters and went to my nut-godown. There I told the Company's merchants to settle their money affairs through Râmachandra Râo. I also sent for Râmachandra Râo and told him to get the money for the merchants, and I sent with him Arunâchala Chetti and Vîrâ Chetti. Then I came home, had my bath and ate.

At five o'clock I went to the Sunguvâr's garden where the funeral ceremonies were performed.

Akka Pillai's turban was retied, and at half-past six he was brought by the Vellâla Street with music to the house that was lately purchased. Then I gave pân supârî to the Company's merchants and others who were assembled there and dismissed them. I then went to the nut-godown.

Some time back on December 27, 1742, when I stood surety for Haidar Sâhib in the Panchamâdêvi matter, I sent a bill of exchange to Râyalayyan of Lâlâpêttai asking him to pay 500 Porto Novo chakrams or a thousand rupees, to note the payment on the bill and get a receipt besides. Accordingly Râyalayyan signed the bill on December 31, 1742, paid the amount, and noted the payment on the bill. He also wrote a separate receipt in Persian which was sealed with his master's seal. But when Haidar Sâhib's accounts and mine relating to the Panchamâdêvi affair were settled, and when the balance was paid, it was found that my accounts did not show the 500 chakrams; so his writers said nothing about them, and struck the balance without including them. So when the accounts and the notes were examined in order to state the receipts and payments on both sides, this item was not included in the accounts. But when the receipts and payments relating to Lâlâpêttai and the Panchamâdêvi affair in which I stood surety, were examined, then it was found that these 500 chakrams were due to me. When they disputed this, I sent for Periya Pillai, writer to Miyân Sâhib, Haidar

Sâhib's elder brother, related to him the whole story, and showed him also the receipt. On seeing everything, Periya Pillai said, 'So many are the money transactions in the world that in some few by forgetfulness mistakes happen. Then the injured persons desire the accounts to be thoroughly examined and written out; and none has ever before refused to make good such mistakes, as Haidar Sâhib is now doing. It is his nature to deceive others in his dealings with them, and he never behaves honestly. That is why his affairs always fail. However, I know you are patient in all matters. On account of your friendship with him, it will be unseemly to publish the matter. I will write a cadjan letter to him and if you will also write to him, he will read the letters and send the money. That is what should be done.'

In his presence, I therefore sent for Sivarâma Sâstri and told him to copy the receipt. I also desired Madanânda Pandit to write a Persian letter to Haidar Sâhib, asking whether, when accounts were settled, and an item had been omitted by mistake, a man should deceitfully take advantage of it. A detailed account of the several transactions as written above was also drawn out, put into an envelope with the letter and a copy of the receipt, and sent by a Muhammadan whom I do not know but who came from Hazrat Muhammad Khân, son of Khâlif Khân. The matter was explained to him, and Chella Pillai, the Company's peon was ordered to

go with him to Panchamâdêvi to-morrow, deliver the letter to Haidar Sâhib and demand the 500 Porto Novo chakrams that have been deceitfully kept back, together with interest thereon up to date. I also gave him a cadjan letter from Periya Pillai and ordered him to set out to-morrow morning. Then I came home at ten o'clock. There is nothing more worth writing.

APPENDIX.

This horoscope shall state the fortunes of birth, the prosperity of life and the results of merits acquired before birth. We hereby proclaim this horoscope for the redemption from the misery of future births of both ancestors and descendants, for the prosperity of the family, truly and as it is written, for all to see these presents :—

Svasti ! In the Saka year 1669, Kaliyuga 4848, the year Prabhava, in the month of Mârgaḷi, on the 27th day, on a Sunday, on the 7th *ṭithi* of the bright fortnight (ending at 11¾ ghatikas), on a day of " Rêvati " nakshatra (ending at 50 ghaṭikas[1]), on a day of *Siva Yôga* (ending at 52⅞ ghaṭikas), during the *Vanigakarana* (ending at 11½ ghaṭikas), day[2]-*tyâjyam* (ending at 24½ ghaṭikas) the sun being in the first quarter of " Uttara[3] Âshâdha," Venus being in the second quarter of " Śrăvaṇa " " Uttara Bhâdrapada " having ended on 10ber (=December[4]) 26th, at 54 ghaṭikas after sunrise, and " Rêvati " being current.

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[1] " Rêvati " ended on the day in question at 55 ghaṭikas (not 50) after mean sunrise.

[2] In the case of " Rêvati " the *tyâjyam* is one half, *i.e.*, on the day in question, *tyâjyam* ended at 30½ ghaṭikas after the commencement of the nakshatra and was a day-*tyâjyam*—see paragraphs (59), (60) of " Indian Chronology."

[3] Read " உத்திராடம் க—ல் (*i.e.*, ஒன்றில் or முதல்காலில்) சூரியன். The figures 24½ here inserted in the original seem to be a repetition of the ending moment of *tyâjyam*. See also next note.

[4] The entry " 10-26 " in the original appears to be part of a series of notes of calculation made by the astrologer, with a view to expanding them in the body of the horoscope : " 10-26 " is possibly a contraction for " 10bre 26 " which would be the French way of writing " December 26th " the English (old style) date corresponding to " 6th " January, the French (new style) date of birth. The reader has to be reminded that at the time we are dealing with, *i.e.*, in A.D. 1747-48, the New or Gregorian Style had come into use in France and the French Settlements, but not in England into which country it was introduced by Act of Parliament only in A.D. 1752.

On this auspicious day a son was born to Ânanda Ranga Pillai Avargal, son of M.R.Ry. Pirambûr Tiruvêngadam Pillai.

The following are the positions of the planets at the moment of birth, namely, at 3¼ ghaṭikas after mean sunset.

Lagna: 2½ ghaṭikas expired in Karkaṭaka lagna.

Hora: The Moon's.

Drekkâna: of Mars, the lord of Vrischika (Scorpio).

Navâmśa: of Mars, the lord of Vrischika (Scorpio).

Dvâdaśâmśa: of Jupiter, the lord of Dhanus (Sagittarius).

Trimśâmśa[1]: 114 (*sic*).

In the Lagna house, *Karkaṭaka* (=Cancer), in the 4th quarter of "Áślesha," in "Mina" [dvâdaśâmśa], was Kêtu.[2]

In the 4th house, *Tula* (=Libra), in the 4th quarter of "Svâti," in "Mina" [dvâdaśâmśa] was Saturn.

In the 6th House "Dhanus" (=Sagittarius), in the [first] quarter of "Uttara Âshâdha" in the [dvâdaśâmśa] *Dhanus*, was the Sun.

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[1] "*Trimśâmśa* 114" is obviously an error for "*Trimśâmśa* 104" or *Trimśâmśa* 14" "114°" would be the second half of the lagna *râśi*, whereas we are told that the birth took place in the Moon's or first half of that Râśi. The *actual* lagna at the moment of birth, as calculated by me, was 108° which would still be *Karkaṭaka* lagna, but in the second half thereof. The *approximate* lagna arrived at in accordance with article 75 of "*Indian Chronology*" was no doubt 104° at the moment of birth.

[2] The positions of Râhu and Kêtu, as calculated by me, for the date in question, were 301° and 121° respectively; but Ranga Pillai's astrologer appears to have assigned to these planets 299° and 119°, respectively, so as to make them fall in Makara (Capricornus, the 7th house for the subject of the horoscope) and *Karkaṭuka* (Cancer, the 1st or lagna house) respectively. In all other respects the positions of the planets, given in the horoscope are fairly correct. It is curious that the position of *Mercury* is not at all noticed in the horoscope.

In the same[1] house, in the second quarter of "Mula" in [the dvâdaśâmśa] Kanyâ, was Râhu.

In the same house[2], in the second quarter of "Śrăvaṇa" in [the dvâdaśâmśa], Ṛishabha, was Venus.

In the same house, in the fourth quarter of "Uttara âshâdha" in [the dvâdaśâmśa] Mina, was Jupitor.

In the 8th house, *Mina* (=Pisces), in the third quarter of "Rêvati," in [the dvâdaśâmśa] Kumbha, was the *Moon*.

The total duration of "Rêvati[3]" being 61 ghaṭikas, and 7 ghaṭikas having expired in the third quarter thereof, the balance is 8¼ ghaṭikas.

In the Budha *Mahâdaśa*, 10½ years had passed, and 6½ remained;

In the *Budha Bhukti*, out of the *Budha Mahâdaśa*, there remained 1½ years and 15 days. Prosperity and long life!

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[1] "In the same house," appears to be an error for "in Makara, the 7th house," *i.e.*, Capricornus; *Râhu* could not possibly have been placed by any astrologer in the 6th house, but it could have been placed, as stated in the last note, in the 7th house or Makara. My conjecture that "in the 7th house" was intended here is confirmed by the fact that *Venus* and *Jupiter* are also placed below "in the same house," and they were evidently in *Capricornus* (*Makara*), not in *Dhanus*.

[2] "In the same house" was probably intended, with reference to the 7th house which in turn was intended, but not expressed, as the house occupied by Râhu.—See note 2 in page 478.

[3] This portion of the horoscope refers to the *âyurdaya* or expectation of life, as deduced from the nakshatra of birth. A person born in "Rêvati" is said to be in Budha's (Mercury's) *Mahâdaśa* of 17 years, but as much should be deducted from this first portion of life as corresponds to the portion of nakshatra which had expired at the time of birth. The nakshatra lasted for 61 ghaṭikas (*i.e.*, from 54 ghaṭikas on 26th December to 55 ghaṭikas on 27th December) and as the birth took place at 33¼ ghaṭikas on 27th December, *i.e.*, when 39¼ ghaṭikas out of 61 had passed, a corresponding fraction of 17 years (Budha's great period) was cut off from the first chapter of the subject's life, and what remained in that chapter is stated to be 6½ years. Budha's great period is again divided into nine sub-periods (*Bhuktis*), of which six sub-periods had been cut off as equivalent to 10½ years, and there remained 1½ years and 15 days of Râhu's sub-periods and also the whole of Jupiter's and Saturn's sub-periods.

Note by the Translator.

According to "Indian Chronology," the positions of the planets at the moment of birth, were as follow:—

Sun	...	266·82°	Saturn	...	197·08°
Moon	...	341·83°	Râhu	...	301·34°
Mars	...	317·0°	Kêtu	...	121·34°
Jupiter	...	277·62°	Lagna	...	104° (approximate) and 108° (exact).
Venus	...	284·22°			

The moment of birth was 7 hours, 18 minutes P.M. on Sunday, 27th December 1747 (Old Style) = 7th January 1748 (New Style).

23-2-15. L. D. SWAMIKANNU.

NOMINAL INDEX.

'Abd-ul-hai Khân, 78.
'Abd-ul-hâji, 113, 115, 130.
'Abd-ul-nabî Khân, 3.
'Abd-ul-rahmân *or* Shaikh 'Abd-ul-rahmân, 4, 120, 121, 131, 134, 154, 166, 170, 171, 194, 195, 196, 210, 219, 223, 242, 252, 266, 315, 317, 318, 391, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 405, 422, 432, 440, 454, 456, 466.
'Abd-ul-wahâb Khân, 98, 102.
Âchikkâdu, 46, 249.
Achin, 3, 19, 53, 83, 91, 170, 191, 267.
Adil Shâh, 216.
Âdivarâha Chetti, 419.
Âdiyapâda Pillai, 342.
Âdiyappa Nâyakkan, 109.
Adoni, 44.
Agra, 116.
Akbar Sâhib, 303, 413.
Akkal Nâyakkan, 209, 210.
Akka Pillai, 472, 474.
Alaga Pillai, 354, 355.
Alagappa Chetti, 357.
Alagappa Mudali, 306, 386.
Alagappa Pillai *or* Alagayya Pillai, 304, 305.
Âlambarai, 4, 71, 105, 106, 107, 109, 193, 201, 206.
Âlankuppam, 371, 453, 454, 455.
Âlattûr, 12, 26, 39, 40.
Albert, Chevalier d', 320.
Albert, Madame, née Jeanne de Castro, 69.
Albert, Marie (Madame Aumont, Madame d' Auteuil), 141, 158, 391.
'Alî Dôst Khân, *see* Dost 'Alî Khân.
'Alî Khân, 317.
'Alî Naqî *or* 'Alî Naqî Sâhib, 49, 78, 248, 265, 266, 283, 285, 286, 288, 290, 293, 300, 301, 302, 303.
'Alî Sâhib, 265, 271.
Alisapâkkam, 17, 59, 60, 122, 123, 267, 268, 272, 354, 356, 361, 362, 385, 404, 408.
Alivirdi Khân, 429.
Allen, Mr., 109.
Ambûr, 379.
Amîr-ul-umarâ, 190.
Ammayappa Chetti, 338, 420.
Ammayappan, 279.
Ammayya Pillai, 424.
Ânandâji Gorpadê, *or* Ânanda Gorpadê *or* Ânanda Râo Gorpadê, 390, 391, 394, 398, 399.

Ânanda Ranga Pillai, *or* Ânanda Rangappan, *or* Ranga Pillai, *or* Rangappan, *or* Rangâppa *or* Pillai Avargal, 2, 9, 15, 16, 20, 24, 31, 33, 34, 39, 52, 53, 57, 59, 60, 61, 83, 85, 96, 99, 106, 107, 109, 110, 113, 118, 119, 125, 139, 140, 141, 143, 149, 152, 154, 156, 159, 173, 176, 177, 179, 182, 190, 191, 194, 195, 203, 204, 207, 221, 225, 227, 228, 232, 238, 240, 244, 247, 252, 256, 259, 296, 299, 300, 304, 312, 314, 316, 317, 324, 328, 329, 333, 334, 343, 344, 345, 354, 357, 359, 360, 372, 378, 384, 385, 388, 389, 400, 402, 403, 404, 406, 411, 416, 436, 437, 438, 440, 441, 447, 449, 462, 478.
Ânanda Râo, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 242, 243.
Anglesea (ship), 176.
Anjengo, 63, 84, 120, 131, 169, 174.
Annapûrna Ayyan, 164, 165, 333, 352, 393.
Anson (ship), 176.
Anson, Lord, 135.
Anthony, Father, *see* Noronha.
Anwar Khân, 6.
Anwar-ud-dîn Khân, 6, 23, 35, 36, 40, 45, 64, 70, 71, 75, 78, 84, 87, 89, 93, 98, 102, 103, 108, 114, 121, 127, 128, 130, 135, 140, 174, 175, 189, 246, 252, 261, 318, 339, 374, 376, 378, 379. 380, 409, 410, 417, 420, 428, 431.
Apollon (ship), 176.
Appâji Nâyakkan, 23.
Appâvu, 30.
Appayyan, 410.
Appu Mudali *or* Appu, 25, 58, 59, 69, 70, 114, 136, 139, 206, 247, 248, 276, 323, 329, 333, 334, 360, 361, 379, 388, 389, 411, 435, 465, 466.
Arcot, 6, 11, 12, 14, 16, 17, 18, 22, 35, 37, 44, 64, 70, 72, 75, 76, 78, 89, 93, 94, 100, 103, 104, 105, 114, 116, 120, 121, 125, 126, 127, 129, 132, 140, 161, 167, 168, 175, 186, 196, 197, 198, 213, 215, 216, 217, 219, 231, 246, 252, 270, 272, 276, 333, 340, 349, 359, 367, 376, 378, 379, 380, 386, 409, 410, 413, 414, 417, 420, 421, 423, 428, 431, 432, 439, 440, 442, 452, 453, 463, 469,473.
Arcot, North, 272.
Ariyalûr, 309.
Ariyânkuppam, 9, 27, 36, 51, 60, 68, 123, 139, 181, 200, 270, 271, 272, 299, 307, 308, 311, 315, 317, 318, 319, 323, 325, 329, 356, 371, 408.
Ariyappa Mudali, 343, 348.
Arnault, M., 253, 256
Arni, 57.
Arulânandan, 456, 457.
Arulappan, 313.
Arumpâtai Pillai, 52, 69, 149, 186, 280, 341, 342, 343, 365, 372.
Ârumugam, 182.
Ârumuga Pandâram, 260, 261.
Arunâchala Chetti, 305, 357, 388, 419, 445, 446, 447, 473.
Asad 'Ali, 278.
Asad-ul-lah Sâhib, Muhammad, 278, 284, 287, 290, 293, 294, 295, 296.

Âsaf Jâh, *see* Nizâm-ul-mulk.
Attipâkkam, 84, 85.
Âttûr, 178, 180, 250.
Auger, M., 107, 268, 269, 347.
Aumont, Marie Rose Françoise (Madame Friell), 67.
Aumont, Marie, *see* Albert, Marie.
Aumont, 67, 141.
Aurangabad, 44, 110, 116, 125, 140, 168, 175, 189, 190, 231, 458.
Auteuil, Louis Hubert Combault d', 67, 141, 158, 227, 274, 276, 316, 317.
Auteuil, Madame d', *see* Albert, Marie.
Âvali Salam, 250.
Avây Sâhib, Khâzi, 94, 115, 116, 117, 127, 161, 166, 265, 271, 345, 346, 423, 440.
Ayyâkannu, 197, 207, 208.
Ayyan Perumâl, 441.
Ayyâ Tambi, 361.
Ayyavâr Ayyangâr, Mâdabûsi, 186.

Badê Sâhib, 6, 45, 283, 288, 292, 296, 306, 413.
Badô Sâhib, 296.
Bâhûr, 181, 327.
Baird, Alexander, 4.
Balasore, 84, 165, 268, 330.
Bâlayya, 393.
Ball, 360.
Ballay, Lenoir de, (Pâliyô), M., 354.
Bâlu Chetti, Guntûr, 27, 233, 235, 236, 238, 305, 361, 390, 392.
Bâlu Chetti, Tiruviti, 401.
Bandar Abbas, 191.
Bangâru, 243, 424.
Bankâpuram, 23, 44, 217.
Bâpôji Nâyakkan, 23, 64, 70.
Bâppu, 44.
B pu Râo, 247, 446.
Barnewall, Anthony Coyle de, 402.
Barnewall, Francis Coyle de, 42, 402.
Barnewall, Madame, 402, 403, 405, 430.
Barthélemy, M., Louis, 13, 118, 206, 217, 228, 229, 234, 235, 252, 279, 280, 281, 328, 340, 352, 353, 436.
Barthélemy, Madame, 319, 354.
Basavapatna *or* Basavâpandana, 251.
Batavia, 89, 243.
Bausset, M. du, 22, 318.
Bâvâ Sâhib *or* Ekôji, 350.
Beawes, 109.
Bencoolen, 83, 86.
Bengal, 13, 53, 56, 63, 64, 68, 74, 84, 86, 93, 95, 97, 99, 134, 165, 168, 176, 177, 178, 188, 192, 199, 302, 324, 338, 349, 357, 403, 428, 429, 435, 436, 448, 469, 470.

Benyon, Mr. Richard, 133.
Bertie, Lord Thomas, 254.
Bertrand, M., 340, 390, 391, 420, 460, 470.
Bhagavan Dâs *or* Bhavâni Dâs *or* Bhavân Dâs, 361, 439, 459.
Bhâji Râo, 216, 343.
Bhuvanagiri, 3, 8, 27, 318, 319.
Bikkan Khân, 120, 121, 131, 166, 170, 177, 188, 194, 195, 196, 454, 466.
Bombay, 53, 63, 84, 92, 106, 119, 120, 129, 140, 176, 194, 270, 271, 272.
Bombay Castle (ship), 92, 321.
Bommaiyapâlaiyam Mutt, 393.
Bonetta (sloop), 321.
Bonneau, M., 112.
Boscawen, Mr., 135, 348.
Bourbon (ship), 127.
Bourbon, 112, 218.
Bouvet, 320.
Boyelleau, M., 210, 328, 338, 402, 453.
Brand, 106.
Breda, 81.
Briell, *see* Friell, Jacques.
Brignon, M. (M. Marignon), 192, 201, 206.
Brilliant (ship), 47.
Britain, Great, 81.
Britannia (ship), 41, 42, 63, 83.
Bundelcund, 336.
Bunder, *see* Masulipatam.
Burat, M., 97, 302.
Burhanpur, 78.
Bury, M. de, 56, 269, 285, 307, 321, 356, 361, 462.
Bussorah, 176, 191, 218.
Bussy, M., 112, 158, 402.

Campos, Antonio do Caettano do, Captain, 118, 192, 193.
Canton, 67.
Cantopher, *see* Kandopoulos.
Carnatic, 4, 64, 71, 228, 421.
Carvalho, Antonia de, (Mrs. de Madeiros), 402.
Carvalho, Francisco de, 99.
Carvalho, Jeanne, 99.
Carvalho, Marie, 99.
Cayrefourg, M., 11, 35, 136.
Ceylon, 126.
Chandâ Sâhib, 10, 50, 71, 78, 124, 125, 160, 176, 211, 212, 213, 248, 262, 265, 275, 276, 278, 279. 282, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 291, 292, 294, 295, 296, 301, 306, 377, 382, 391, 413, 414, 450, 451, 457, 469.
Chandernagore, 192.
Changeac, Captain, 34.
Changeac, M. de, 34, 35, 154, 180, 184, 202, 203, 205, 459, 460, 467.

Chella Pillai, 280, 281, 475.
Chennamanâyakkanpâlaiyam, 100.
Chêtpattu, 34, 44, 310, 360, 362, 440.
Chidambaram, 3, 8, 27, 49, 89, 96, 100, 101, 103, 200, 392, 433, 437.
China, 459, 461.
Chingleput, 30, 39, 292, 306, 428.
Chinna Mudali, *see* Tânappa Mudali.
Chinna Parasurâma Pillai, *or* Chinna Parasurâman, 172, 305, 340, 344, 467, 468.
Chinna Perumâl Chetti, 360.
Chinnapparâya Pillai, 260.
Chinnappayyan, 49.
Chinnarâya Chetti, 361.
Chinnatambi, 7.
Chinnayya, 352.
Chintâdripêt, 64.
Chintâmani Ayyan, 431.
Chitaldrûg, 182, 251.
Chittipilâl, 448, 470.
Chittirakandi, 189.
Chittirakandi Bâman, 216, 251.
Choisy, M., 196, 331, 471.
Choisy, Madame, 331.
Chokkappa Mudali, 161, 162, 167, 199.
Chonchon, *see* Vincens, Marie.
Christian VI, 81.
Chunâmbâr, 324.
Circars, Northern, 333, 443.
Cochinat, M., 134.
Cœurdoux, Father, 146, 152, 456.
Coja Sultân, 430.
Colombo, 187.
Conjeeveram, 36, 45, 52, 71, 75, 393.
Coquet, M., 156.
Cornet, Etienne Mathurin, 3, 141, 145, 146, 196, 249, 255, 261, 264, 336, 337, 338, 352, 357, 365, 376, 380, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 398, 399, 401, 402, 403, 423, 437, 440, 441, 452, 453, 464.
Coromandel Coast, 105, 171, 173, 228.
Cotterel, M., 218.
Courton, 285.
Covelong, 7, 177, 262.
Croke, Mr. Edward, 62, 83, 87, 93, 349.
Crompton, 109.
Cuddalore, 1, 3, 8, 10, 17, 26, 28, 41, 42, 43, 56, 80, 83, 88, 92, 100, 101, 104, 106, 115, 134, 163, 181, 183, 195, 197, 210, 218, 236, 254, 269, 321, 332, 366, 369, 383, 454, 468, 472.
Cuddapah, 3, 44, 70, 78, 79, 125, 218, 219, 220, 221, 242, 243, 365, 378, 379, 394, 403, 409, 421.

Coltru, M., 9, 11, 22, 47, 53, 89, 95, 113, 125, 137, 158, 210, 218, 228, 293, 302, 359.
Cunha, Manoel da, 310, 360, 362.
Cupid, 447.

Dâmalcheruvu Pass, 349.
Danbury (ship), 324.
Dargy, M., 310.
Dâsari, 172.
Daulatabad, 140, 190.
David, M., 47, 145.
Deadman's Battery, 313.
Deccan, 36, 72, 345.
Delarche, M. Alexander Henri, 6, 11, 12, 14, 15, 16, 22, 35, 38, 39, 52, 56, 102, 103, 108, 118, 130, 132, 156, 182, 189, 226, 227, 228, 232, 343, 375, 384, 385, 386, 421, 423, 450.
Delhi, 11, 70, 116, 142, 190, 216, 231, 275, 343, 345, 359.
Denmark, 81.
Desfresnes, M., 226, 263, 305, 316, 317, 354, 423, 425, 450, 464.
Desmarêts, Marc-Antoine, 373, 406, 407, 418.
Desvoeux, M., 385, 386.
Devanâmpattanam, *or* Tevenepatam, 41, 69, 83, 86, 92, 106, 160.
Dêvanâyaka Ayyangâr, 309.
Dêvanâyaka Chetti, 323.
Dêvarâjâ, 461.
Dêvarâja Reddi, 461.
Dharma Chetti, 362.
Dîwân Sâhib, 303, 413.
Dordelin, M., 97, 171, 173.
Dôst 'Alî Khân, *or* 'Alî Dôst Khân, 48, 49, 71, 123, 211, 303, 382, 413.
Dresden, 48.
Duff, Grant, 221, 350, 351.
Dugarazpattanam, 84, 90.
Dulaurens, M., 13, 27, 87, 117, 118, 123, 161, 163, 166, 197, 217, 218, 229, 233, 234, 235, 236, 243, 252, 253, 256, 257, 258, 259, 262, 267, 281, 339, 365, 375, 384, 385, 423, 425, 426, 430.
Dulaurens, Madame, *see* La Touche, Marie de.
Dulivier, M., 152.
Dumas, M., 22, 47, 95, 122, 123, 137, 144, 231, 253, 255, 256, 257, 258, 267, 350, 359.
Dupleix, M., 1, 2, 3, 10, 11, 14, 18, 20, 22, 32, 47, 53, 55, 56, 62, 67, 71, 72, 80, 89, 95, 111, 113, 125, 135, 144, 145, 147, 150, 154, 155, 156, 158, 187, 192, 201, 210, 218, 227, 228, 229, 231, 233, 241, 242, 243, 263, 273, 285, 302, 303, 307, 319, 321, 323, 329, 351, 376, 387, 402, 408, 411, 416, 420, 434, 442, 450.
Dupleix, Madame, 32, 33, 57, 58, 67, 74, 82, 83, 108, 141, 224, 229, 230, 231, 232, 240, 243, 273, 293, 294, 319, 391, 411, 412, 417, 418.
Duquesne, M., 13, 77, 159, 285, 353, 356, 371, 435, 460.

Duraiyappa Chetti, Tirumangalam, 57.

E'ânat Khân, 378.
Eckman, Mr., 87, 88.
Eckman, Madame, 87.
Elaichiyappan, 61, 62, 139, 170, 208, 267, 419.
Élias, M., 39, 124, 428, 462.
Ella Pillai, 279.
Ella Pillai Mantapam, 394.
Eltham (ship), 347.
Emberumâl Pillai, 305.
England, 68, 72, 80, 165, 176, 178, 338, 477.
Espréménil, M.d', 32, 97.
Espréménil, M.Duval d', 13, 32, 67, 84, 87, 90, 97, 98, 102, 133, 162, 163, 425.
Espréménil, Madame, d' (Vincens, Anne Christine Françoise) 32, 134, 207, 312, 403.
Europe, 7, 15, 31, 41, 42, 56, 62, 63, 67, 80, 83, 127, 136, 137, 147, 150, 152, 176, 177, 188, 218, 250, 251, 254, 256, 257, 320, 323, 324, 336, 342, 348, 349, 412, 416, 429, 433, 434, 435, 441.
Exeter (ship), 254.

Fakharo Markab (ship), 176.
Farelle, de La, 256.
Fatteh Sawâr (ship), 93.
Fatteh Singh, 79, 190, 216.
Fazl-ul-lah Bêg, 94.
Febvrier, M., 96.
Finisterre, Cape, 135.
Flacourt, M., 158, 169.
Flanders, 87.
Floissac, M., 18.
Floyer, Charles, 74, 83, 84, 85, 87, 187, 188, 428, 454, 455, 463.
Forrest, Mr., 129.
Fort Louis, 256.
Fort St. David, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 23, 26, 27, 28, 30, 35, 36, 38, 41, 43, 45, 48, 55, 56, 62, 63, 68, 69, 71, 74, 76, 77, 80, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 88, 92, 93, 94, 98, 101, 102, 104, 107, 108, 110, 111, 113, 115, 119, 120, 127, 128, 129, 130, 132, 140, 158, 160, 165, 166, 168, 169, 170, 171, 177, 178, 181, 187, 188, 192, 194, 195, 196, 201, 207, 209, 214, 215, 232, 251, 254, 267, 268, 271, 274, 283, 299, 300, 304, 307, 308, 311, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 321, 322, 324, 333, 334, 335, 338, 348, 350, 351, 363, 366, 367, 368, 369, 388, 391, 404, 405, 410, 416, 428, 435, 436, 441, 442, 444, 446, 447, 448, 451, 452, 454, 455, 463, 466, 470, 472, 473.
Fort St. George, 211.
Foster, Mr., William, 165, 194, 207, 312.
Foster, 84.
Foubert, M., 18.
France, 46, 81, 190, 191, 228, 252, 256, 372, 477.

France, Isle de, 190.
Fraser, Mr., 129.
Friell (Briell), Jacques, 67, 134, 241, 253, 316, 339, 355, 356, 359, 366.
Fryer, 53.

Gadilam (River), 41, 160, 307, 316.
Galle, 119, 187.
Galletti, Mr., 54.
Ganges (River), 429, 471.
Gavinivâsa Mudali, 91, 330.
Gentil, Col. Le, 289.
Gerbault, M. (Serpeau), 9, 438.
Gibson, George, 119.
Gingee, 34, 89, 96, 103, 158, 201, 431, 440, 442.
Glatz, 48.
Goa, 87, 135, 143, 174, 176, 192, 199.
Godeheu, M., 18, 154.
Godivier, Madame, 2.
Golaine, M., 423.
Golconda, 64, 175.
Gôpâl Dâs, 186, 203, 204, 439.
Gôpâlakrishna Ayyan, 6, 8, 17, 30, 118, 164, 252, 253, 424, 426.
Gôpâlaswâmi, 437.
Gôpuram, 96.
Gôpurâpuram, 96, 103.
Goralavar, 135.
Gorlier, M., 203.
Gosse, M., 218, 233, 256, 258.
Goupil, M., 322.
Gôvardhana Dâs, 174, 282.
Gôvinda Pandit, 309.
Gôvinda Râo, 223.
Griffin, Mr., 28, 42, 43, 56, 62, 63, 82, 83, 91, 119, 165, 177, 178, 232, 254, 321, 328, 338, 454, 455, 466.
Guillard, M., 285, 372, 373, 422.
Guillaume, M. (Yiyom), 203.
Guillot, Elias, 350.
Gulâb Singh, 108, 262, 340.
Guruva Pillai, 342.
Guruvappa Chetti, Kandâl, 253, 445.
Guruvappa *or* Guruvappan, 47, 74, 418.
Guruvayyan, Mahé, 185, 186, 202.
Guyon, Abbé, 95, 351.

Haan, Dr. F. de, 89.
Hafîz Bêg Khân, 251.
Haidar 'Alî Khân, 282, 284, 285, 286, 287, 290, 293, 295, 296.
Haidar Dil Khân, 290, 293.

Haidar Sâhib, 474, 475, 476.
Hâji Hâdi, 113, 120, 132.
Hâji Muhammad 'Alî, 94.
Halicarnassus, Bishop of—*see* Noronha, Antonio.
Hallyburton, Mr., 19, 109, 307.
Hanumanta Ayyan, Vallûr, 9, 135.
Harisankar Tarwâdi, *or* Sankara Tarwâdi, *or* Tarwâdi, 7, 27, 205, 283 343, 390, 392, 413, 443, 455, 459, 461, 462, 463, 469.
Harwich (ship), 325.
Hasan 'Alî Khân, 11, 116, 345.
Hébert, M., 152.
Hedge, 53.
Hinde, Mr. John, 43, 62, 68, 69, 74, 93, 94, 187.
Hindustan, 10, 345.
Hirâsat Khân, 176, 246, 275, 277, 282, 283, 284, 286, 287, 288, 290, 292 293, 294, 295, 296, 298.
Holland, 301.
Hopkins, Captain, 18.
Horden, Cornelia (Mrs. Perceval), 133.
Horden, Frances (Mrs. Davies, Mrs. Benyon), 133.
Hungary, 3, 48, 49, 295, 302, 398, 399.
Husain Sâhib, 6, 14, 15, 16, 23, 36, 37, 38, 84, 87, 108, 128, 129, 132, 431, 432.
Husain Tâhir *or* Husain Sâhib Tâhir, 44, 45, 70.
Hyderabad, 110.
Hyppolite, Père, 52.

Ignace, 34, 260, 261.
Ilchester (ship), 92, 169.
Imâm Sâhib, 10, 11, 71, 72, 94, 95, 116, 117, 126, 132, 161, 162, 166, 167, 345, 346, 354, 451, 453, 458.
India, 2, 10, 29, 68, 74, 83, 99, 111, 137, 154, 158, 165, 210, 257, 273, 275, 302, 312, 338.
Indies, 320.
Indies, East, 68.
Insulaire (ship), 428.
Irusappa Chetti, 86.

J'afar 'Alî Khân, 146, 151.
J'afar Sâhib, 131, 265, 467.
Jainville, M. de, 2.
Jayanti Râma Ayyan *or* Jayanta Râma *or* Jayanti Râmanna, 9, 31, 134, 135, 163.
Jayarâm Pandit, 125.
Jnânam, 203.
Jnânaprakâsa Pillai, 449.
John, V., 81.
Junkceylon, 430.

Kâbul, 216.
Kadâkumaran, 70.
Kâlahasti Ayyan, 317.
Kâlahasti Îswaran, 314.
Kâlâpêttai, 46, 47.
Kalavai, 292, 296.
Kalyâna Nâyakkan, 19, 20, 21.
Kalyânarâjâ, 85, 87.
Kâman, 447, 456.
Kâma Râjâ, 471.
Kambâla Ayyar, 309.
Kanakarâya Mudali, *or* Pedro *or* Pedre Mudaliar, 91, 123, 143, 147, 148 149, 150, 155, 157, 164, 172, 228, 229, 276, 277, 279, 285, 289, 330, 342, 343, 352, 456, 457.
Kandahâr, 216.
Kandan, 339.
Kandanûr, 44, 70, 78, 79, 168, 246, 421.
Kanda Pillai, 427.
Kandappan, 32, 57, 58, 59, 215, 224, 260, 449.
Kandopoulos, *or* Cantopher, 428, 429.
Kânûr, 96, 103.
Kârikâl, 2, 4, 8, 9, 17, 26, 27, 28, 30, 36, 49, 57, 59, 60, 80, 82, 97, 99, 100, 101, 104, 108, 130, 133, 158, 164, 174, 192, 198, 200, 201, 248, 323, 328, 350, 351, 387, 389, 390, 392, 402, 433, 464.
Karukkalâmpâkkam, 315.
Karuppan, 5.
Kârvêti, 138, 186, 215, 393, 417, 421.
Kâsi Dâs Bukkanji, 132, 205, 408, 419, 420, 459.
Kâsilevvai, 183, 270.
Kâttigai, *see* Koyâjî Kâttigai.
Kâttukôyil, *see* Luz Church.
Kâvêripâkkam, 278, 473.
Kennet, 36.
Keravên *or* Kôvên, *or* Kormain, M., *see* Kermain, M.
Kerjean, M. de, 6, 11, 12, 13, 22, 35, 302.
Kermain, M. (Kôvên, *or* Keravên), 256, 257.
Kêsava Ayyan, 330.
Kêsava Nâyakkan, Malmandâ, 31.
Khâlif Khân, 458, 475.
Khân Bahâdûr, 211, 212, 264, 265, 283, 288, 382, 414.
Kîlalinjipattu, 268, 311.
Kirumâmpâkkam, 14, 358.
Kistna (River), 6, 23, 37, 70, 217, 421.
Koduthiyê, *see* Godivier.
Kommana Mudali, *or* Kommanan, 217, 256, 262, 269, 278, 279, 281, 423, 424, 425, 426, 430.
Konda Râjâ *or* Konda Râjâ Ayyan, 400, 430, 449, 450.

Kondûr Tope, 15.
Kôtâlu, 894.
Kottakuppam, 331.
Kôvên *or* Koravên, *or* Kermain, M. *see* Kermain, M.
Koyâjî Kâttigai, *or* Kâttigai, 351, 387.
Krimâsi Pandit, 75.
Krishnâji Pandit, 242, 295, 296.
Krishna Pillai, 438.
Krishnayyan, the Hasty, 417.
Kubêra, 65.
Kulandai Chetti, 419.
Kulandaiyappa Mudali, *or* Kulandaiyappan, 124, 229.
Kumaran, 68.
Kumâra (Pass), 78.
Kumara Pillai, Kâlavarâya, 264, 340, 341.
Kumara Pillai, Kâlavây, 388.
Kumarappa Chetti, Tirumangalam, 118.
Kumarappa Mudali, 305.
Kûnimêdu, 46, 249, 363.
Kuppayyan, 109, 179, 203, 205.
Kuppi Chetti, 441.
Kuruvinattam, 315.

La Bourdonnais, M. de, 18, 47, 65, 80, 111, 112, 141, 144, 162, 191, 233 262, 365, 402, 428, 429, 436.
La Cibèle (frigate), 320.
La Haye, M. de, 89.
Lakshayâ, 333.
Lakshmana Pillai, *or* Lakshmanan, 330, 333, 472.
Lakshmana Mudali, *or* Lakshmanan, 207, 311, 312.
Lakshmana Nâyakkan, 221, 223, 226.
Lakshmi, Râja, 447.
Lakshmipati, 332.
Lâlâpêttai, 18, 199, 249, 272, 333, 337, 379, 473, 474.
Lâlâ Munshi, *or* Lâlâ, 295, 296.
L'Hostie, M., 192.
L'Hostier, 192.
La Mabounaye, 176.
La Métrie Baudran, 176, 191.
La Morandière, Nicolas de, 27.
Lanka, 126.
Lapwing (ship), 80, 83.
La Touche, Louis Galliot de, 31, 56, 217, 253, 257.
La Touche, Marie de (Madame Dulaurens), 217.
La Tour, 31.
Latour, Manilla de, 155, 321, 436.
La Villebague, M. de. 18.

Law, M. Jacques, 19, 99, 100, 101, 104, 378.
Law, Jean, 99.
Law, William, 99.
Lawrence, Stringer, 194, 330.
Lazar, *see* Tânappa Mudali.
Lazar, 308.
Le Beaume, M., 407.
Legou, Alexandre, 53, 99, 113, 227, 233, 238, 263, 285, 325, 353, 367, 382, 384, 423.
Legou, Pétronille, 99.
Lemaire, M., 156, 262, 270, 277, 285, 384.
Le Marié, M., 90, 91.
Lenoir, M., 256, 285, 359, 449, 470, 471.
Le Noutre, M., 3, 9, 27, 28, 29, 30, 49.
Le Riche, Jean Baptiste, 2, 43, 62, 98, 99, 100, 101, 104, 105, 132, 133 158, 192, 201, 248, 323, 351, 387, 402.
Lestook, 81.
Lévy, 34.
Leyrit, Duval de, M., 32, 97, 99, 100, 101, 105, 132, 133, 223, 341, 459, 460.
Libaut, Claude, 471.
Libaut, M. de, 471, 472.
Linga Chetti, 41, 64.
Lingâreddipâlaiyam, 325.
Lôka Bhândhavan, 411.
Lôkâbhirâma Mudali, 197.
London, 4.
L'Orient, 81.
Louët, M., 210.
Louis XV, 435.
Louisburg, 72.
Louis Prakâsan, *or* Prakâsan, 146, 164.
Love, Col., H. D., 86, 87, 88, 213, 261.
Low Countries, 48.
Loyala, 143.
Lozier-Bouvet, 190.
Lucas, M., 249, 336, 337, 365, 366, 382, 383, 384, 403, 437.
Luz Church *or* Kâttukôyil, 411.

Macao, 83, 97.
Mâdabûsi Ayyavâr Ayyangâr, *see* Ayyavâr Ayyangâr, Mâdabûsi.
Madanânda Pandit, 15, 22, 102, 131, 135, 140, 166, 208, 212, 264, 289, 291, 297, 298, 303, 345, 392, 399, 409, 411, 413, 414, 451, 475.
Madeiros, Mrs. de, *see* Carvalho, Antonia de.
Madras, 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 11, 13, 17, 22, 26, 27, 30, 32, 33, 34, 36, 37, 39, 41, 42, 43, 45, 46, 47, 48, 55, 56, 57, 58, 62, 63, 64, 66, 67, 68, 72, 81, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 93, 99, 110, 111, 113, 116, 117, 118, 123, 128, 133, 134, 141, 142, 144, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168,

169, 170, 172, 175, 177, 178, 188, 189, 190, 192, 193, 194, 197, 206, 213, 214, 217, 218, 228, 229, 230, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 240, 241, 242, 243, 249, 252, 256, 257, 259, 261, 262, 269, 272, 280, 281, 283, 296, 299, 308, 309, 310, 312, 322, 327, 333, 338, 339, 340, 343, 345, 346, 348, 349, 352, 354, 357, 359, 365, 366, 367, 368, 370, 402, 405, 409, 411, 412, 415, 423, 425, 428, 430, 435, 436, 448, 449, 451, 458, 463, 465, 468.
Madura, 79.
Madurainâyakam Pillai, *or* Madurainâyakam, 197, 207, 262.
Mahé, 20, 34, 39, 43, 46, 50, 55, 65, 85, 95, 97, 109, 120, 130, 135, 138, 164, 168, 170, 171, 173, 174, 176, 178, 185, 186, 197, 199, 204, 205, 210, 218, 219, 228, 250, 274, 275, 278, 282, 284, 285, 287, 288, 291, 293, 307, 315, 347, 356, 423, 432, 433, 434, 454, 456, 457, 460, 467.
Mahfuz Khân, 15, 29, 40, 53, 71, 79, 84, 87, 89, 93, 110, 113, 114, 120, 128, 129, 131, 174, 175, 181, 182, 189, 198, 199, 217, 251, 254, 255, 343, 368.
Mahimandalam, 473.
Mailappa Chetti, 106.
Mainville, M. de, 18, 154, 178, 179, 180, 184, 186, 202, 203, 204, 205, 401, 421, 422, 423, 458, 459, 460, 461, 467.
Mainville, Madame, 459, 460, 467.
Malabar, 4, 54, 120, 181, 194, 195, 196, 254, 266.
Malacca, 83.
Malaikkolundu Mudali, 155, 229, 252, 279, 280.
Malayappan *or* Malayappa Mudali, 60, 79, 82, 89, 91, 92, 110, 172, 207, 212, 224, 225, 226, 245, 266, 361, 362, 363, 371, 378, 392, 408, 410, 442 453, 455, 464.
Maldives, 165.
Malhari Râo Holkar, 78.
Malleson, Col., 95.
Malrâjâ, 85, 87, 98, 101, 102, 130, 134, 158, 267, 400.
Mânâji, 410.
Manalûrpêttai, 455, 462.
Mangaitâyi, 304.
Manian, 449.
Manilla, 60, 91, 155, 158, 297, 315, 317, 40 441.
Manjakuppam, 5, 63, 69, 119, 307.
Manmadan, 447.
Maunappa Chetti, 204.
Manôji, 216.
Manôji Appâ, 389.
Manucci, Niccolao, 11.
Mârga Nârâyana Chetti, 311.
Maria-Theresa-Antoinette, 81.
Marignon, M., *see* Brignon.
Marikrishnâpuram, 27, 307, 311, 324, 454.
Mâriyappa Mudali, 340.
Martineau, M., 99.

Mascareigne, 47, 105, 106, 145, 176, 228, 264, 416, 433.
Masulipatam, or Bunder, 90, 210, 285, 331, 448, 449, 470, 471.
Mathieu, M., 52, 89.
Mauritius, 256.
Melon, Mr., 86.
Mêlugiri Pandit, 221, 456.
Mergui, 191.
Merkânam, 46, 105.
Mettalwâr, 421.
Mêttupâlaiyam, 5, 19.
Miran, M., 53, 158, 217, 285, 294.
Mîr A'azam, 131, 265.
Mîr Asad-ul-lah Khân, *see* Mîr Sâhib.
Mirasi, 23.
Mîr Diyânat-ul-lah, 140, 455, 469.
Mîr Ghulâm Husain, 79, 131, 265, 306, 307, 438, 467.
Mîr Husain Khân, 44, 465, 468.
Mîr Inâyat-ul-lah, 302.
Mîr Muhammad 'Alî, 448, 469, 470.
Mîr Sâhib, *or* Mîr Asad-ul-lah Khân, 44, 327.
Mirzâ Muhammad Khân, Fakir, 182, 189.
Miyân Sâhib, 44, 120, 121, 309, 474.
Miyâsi, 404.
Mocha, 404.
Monson, Mr., 68.
Montpellier, 13.
Morâri Râo, 379, 391.
Moreau, M., 228, 229, 252, 269, 280.
Morse, Mr., 43, 57, 62, 63, 88, 133, 140, 188, 207, 311, 312, 313, 322, 349, 418.
Morse, Madame, 62, 63, 74, 82, 83, 119.
Mose, M. (Môsu), 154, 203.
Mount, the, *see* St. Thomas' Mount.
Mousse, Pedro, 154.
Mrityunjayan, 471.
Mudâmiah, 3, 8, 89, 100, 101, 103, 104.
Muhammad 'Alî Bêg, 115.
Muhammad 'Alî Khân, 8, 15, 23, 24, 36, 37, 38, 44, 45, 56, 70, 71, 75 175, 248, 264, 265, 374.
Muhammad 'Alî Khân (of Pôlûr) 10, 11, 49, 146, 151.
Muhammad 'Alî Khân, 309.
Muhammad 'Alî Sâhib, 6.
Muhammad Amîn, 181.
Muhammad Husain, 19.
Muhammad Jamâl, 181.
Muhammad Kamâl, 101, 102, 103, 128, 249, 252.
Muhammad Khân, 194, 475.

Muhammad Shâh, 10, 216.
Muhammad Sharîf, Shaikh, 57.
Muhammad Tavakkal, *or* Salik Dâûd Khân, 12, 15, 16, 22, 23, 24, 26, 35, 38, 57, 84, 87, 102, 103, 108, 122, 127, 129, 131, 132, 220, 243, 410, 417, 432.
Mulavai, 394.
Mullâ Sâhib, 46.
Mûltân, 216.
Munawar-ud-dîn Khân, 71, 89, 374, 378, 432, 458.
Muppiri Chetti, 135.
Murshidabad, 429.
Murtazâ 'Alî Khân, 265, 270, 271, 279.
Muruga Pillai, 220, 227, 228, 247, 248, 306, 341, 344, 386, 450.
Murugayyan, 226.
Murungampâkkam, 329, 408.
Musalayyan, 201, 206.
Muttan, 207.
Muttannan, 263.
Mutta Pillai, 252.
Muttappan, 206.
Muttayappan, 230, 338.
Muttayya Chetti, 357.
Muttayya Mudali, Kâlingarâya, 155.
Muttayya Mudali, *or* Muttayyan, Arcot, 224, 423, 440, 441, 452, 453.
Muttayyan, 69, 70, 224, 280, 281.
Muttayya Pillai, 34, 39, 85, 87, 118, 149, 187, 199, 279, 330, 341, 343, 344, 348, 467, 472.
Muttayya Pillai of Porto Novo, 118.
Muttiyâlpêttai, 51.
Muttu, 41, 155, 171, 172, 173, 224, 272, 299, 311, 313, 388, 446, 449.
Muttukumaran, 155, 172.
Muttukumara Pillai, 340.
Muttu Mallâ Reddi, 11, 12, 384.
Muttu Pillai, 333.
Mutyâlu Nâyakkan, Bandila, 109, 127, 128, 129, 168, 254, 349, 378, 386, 409, 410, 420, 421, 431, 432, 439, 440, 442, 448, 451, 452, 455, 462, 463, 472.
Muzaffar Jang, 11, 20.
Mylapore, 24, 31, 110, 164, 252, 409, 411.
Mysore, 6, 44, 70, 121, 125, 131, 168, 175, 178, 180, 190, 204, 205, 228, 231, 427, 430, 459.

Nâchanna Pillai, 306.
Nâdir Shâh, *or* Tahmasp Quli Khân, 70, 191, 216, 217.
Naduvîrapattu, 3, 8.
Nâgêsa Râo, 219.
Nainiya Pillai, 39, 342.

Nainiyappa Mudali, Kudaikkâra, 224.
Nainiyappan, 144.
Najîb Khân, *or* Najîb-ul-lah Khân, 78, 103.
Nallâ Chetti, 106.
Nalla Mâna Vikrama Pândiya, 278.
Nallatambi, 25, 31, 33, 229, 252, 279, 280.
Nallatambi Chetti, 445.
Nallatambi Mudali, 282.
Nâmagiripêttai, 179.
Nandirâja, 203.
Nârâyana Chetti, 86.
Nârâyana Pillai, 58, 469.
Nârâyana Reddi, 362.
Nârâyana Sâstri, 309.
Narbadâ, 190.
Nârkandipâlaiyam, 417.
Nasîrâbâd, 216.
Nâsîr Jang, *or* Nizâm-ud-daulah, 23, 44, 70, 71, 72, 78, 79, 93, 94, 95, 97, 103, 105, 110, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 120, 121, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 131, 132, 140, 168, 174, 175, 176, 181, 182, 188, 189, 190, 198, 216, 217, 246, 251, 343, 346, 349, 378, 420, 421, 431, 451, 463, 472, 473.
Nâsîr Quli Khân, 114, 115, 122, 251, 254.
Nâttu Saruva Reddi, 465.
Nâyaka Tambirân, 387.
Nazelle, M. de, 3, 18, 93, 107, 134, 171, 182, 218, 294, 323.
Nechanûr, 427.
Negapatam, 43, 56, 62, 68, 83, 86, 88, 97, 100, 113, 350, 408.
Nellore, 84, 90, 98.
Neptune (ship), 6, 158, 159, 160.
Nicholas, M., 385.
Nirâsi, 437.
Nizâm-ud-daulah, *see* Nâsîr Jang.
Nizâm-ul-mulk or Âsaf Jâh, 36, 44, 64, 70, 79, 110, 116, 125, 132, 140, 175, 190, 216, 231, 246, 261, 343, 378, 451.
Normandy, 434.
Noronha, Antonio, *or* Père Antoine de la Purification, 411.
Nossa Senhora d'Esperanza e Santa Caterina (ship), 83.
Nyon, M. de, 256.

Odiyampattu, 14.
Olukarai, 9, 41, 51, 141, 155, 265, 266, 268, 329, 330, 352, 357, 400, 408, 412.
Orme, 44, 184, 194, 309, 350, 351.
Oxford (ship), 178.

Pachchai Nâyakka Mudali, 39.
Pâdirikuppam Châvadi, 315, 316, 463.
Pâkkumudaiyâmpattu, 60.

Pâlaiyamkôttai, 49.
Pâlâr (River), 5.
Pâlíyô, *see* Ballay, M.
Panamalai, 96.
Panamûlai, 96, 103.
Panchamâdêvi, 474, 476.
Pandâra Mudali, 86.
Pandharpur, 78.
Panon, M., 218, 233.
Panruti, 89, 99, 158, 318, 455.
Pâpâl, 39, 85, 118, 208, 330, 472.
Pâpayya Pillai, 7, 281.
Pâpayya Venkatan, 67.
Pâppana Pillai, 32, 57, 67.
Paradis, M., 9, 13, 43, 77, 104, 141, 176, 182, 248, 270, 276, 277, 285, 294, 317, 320, 321, 323, 324, 328, 389, 390, 450, 457.
Paramânandan, 172, 407, 417.
Parasurâma Pillai *or* Parasurâman, 8, 111, 112, 186, 249, 250, 252, 260, 304, 356, 365, 372, 373.
Paravaiyâr (River), 19.
Paris, 4, 289.
Parsôji Gorpadê, 391, 394, 398.
Patcharee Point, 184.
Paulet, Captain Henry, 254.
Pearl (ship), 321.
Peddu Chetti, Uttirâ, 360.
Peddu Nâyakkan, 334.
Pedre Mudaliar *or* Pedro, *see* Kanakarâya Mudali.
Penlan, Prigent de, 174.
Pennâr (River), 160, 168, 307, 316.
Perceval, Mrs., *see* Horden, Cornelia.
Perceval, William, 86, 133.
Periyambala Chetti, 338.
Periyanna Nayinâr, 9.
Periya Pillai, 309, 474, 475, 476.
Persia, 216.
Perumâl, 314.
Perumâl Ayyan, 104, 180, 184.
Perumâl Chetti, Munjanûr, 360.
Perumâl Mudali, 243, 311.
Perumâl Nâyakkan, 464.
Perumbai, 309.
Perumukkal, 11, 12, 36, 44, 120, 282, 309.
Peyton, Mr., 63, 428.
Philip, V., 81.
Pichard, M., 323.
Pichchai Goundan, 361, 362.

Pichchakuppan, 25.
Pichchâ Lâlâ, 128.
Pîr Muhammad, 15.
Pîr Sâhib Muhammad Hafîz, 80.
Plaisance, M. de, 462.
Pôlûr, 10, 49, 146, 151, 152.
Pondichery, 2, 4, 7, 10, 11, 13, 17, 29, 30, 31, 32, 36, 37, 39, 43, 45, 48, 53, 54, 56, 57, 63, 66, 67, 68, 72, 74, 76, 80, 83, 84, 85, 88, 89, 93, 95, 97, 99, 108, 110, 112, 115, 120, 125, 129, 141, 142, 143, 144, 152, 156, 157, 167, 174, 176, 194, 197, 199, 210, 211, 214, 216, 217, 228, 235, 241, 243, 246, 256, 267, 268, 269, 276, 281, 299, 308, 312, 321, 323, 324, 325, 326, 328, 331, 333, 349, 351, 358, 362, 377, 382, 389, 390, 394, 402, 422, 435, 441, 446, 451, 463, 470.
Porcher, M., 338, 405, 406, 407, 417, 418, 461.
Porcher, Madame, 405, 406, 417, 418.
Porto-barré, 47.
Porto Novo, 3, 9, 27, 28, 29, 46, 49, 99, 115, 118, 201, 236, 323, 328, 388, 474, 476.
Portugal, 80, 81.
Prakâsan, *see* Louis Prakâsan.
Pratâb Singh, 350, 351, 389, 390.
Prince of Orange (ship), 169.
Princess Amelia (ship), 7, 31, 43, 159.
Princess Mary (ship), 321.
Princesse Marie (ship), 228, 264.
Princess of Wales (ship), 165.
Prussia, 48.
Pudupâlaiyam, 394.
Pulicat, 4, 8, 43, 88, 135, 165, 166, 170, 177, 188, 331, 429, 430, 448, 449, 470.
Punori, 101.
Pûngunam, 99, 101.
Pûranânkuppam, 324, 325.
Purasakuppam, 315.
Pushpagiri, 151.
Pûtturai, 14.

Râchapâlaiyam, 393, 426.
Raghôji Bhônsla, 125, 190, 216, 3 0.
Raghunâtha Pandit, 75.
Râjappa Mudali, 263.
Rajôba, 362.
Râjô Pandit, 77, 124, 160, 211, 212, 275, 277, 284.
Râkki Chetti, 18.
Râma Ayyan, 139.
Râmabhadra Reddi, Valudâvû 85.
Râmachandra Ayyan *or* Râmachandra Pandit *or* Râmachandra Pantulu, 7, 18, 19, 31, 33, 79, 221, 332.

Râmachandra Râo, 473.
Râmakrishna Chetti, 222, 419.
Râmakrishna Sâstri, 186, 215.
Râmalinga Chetti, 331.
Râman, 61.
Râmanâtha Mudali, 305.
Râmanayyan, 333.
Râmânjulu, 31.
Râmânujalu Chetti, Gundu, 235.
Râmâpuram, 28.
Râmêsvaram, 186, 437, 439.
Râmôji, 10, 355.
Ranga Âchâriyâr, 309.
Ranga Pillai, Ânanda, see Ânanda Ranga Pillai.
Ranga Pillai (writer), 187, 198, 223, 349, 367, 380, 398, 404, 405, 411, 442.
Rangappa Nâyakkan or Rangappa, Orkandi, 82, 106, 194.
Rangi, 155.
Rangô Pandit, 75.
Ratnâji Pandit, 128.
Râvana, 126.
Ravanappa Chetti, Guntûr, 51.
Râyalayyan, 474.
Razâ Sâhib, 279, 285, 286, 288, 290, 291, 293, 303, 377.
Red Sea, 441.
Rome, 143.
Rotterdam (ship), 56, 86.

S'aadat-mund Khân, 278, 279, 283, 287, 290, 291, 293, 294, 295, 296.
S'aadat-ul-lah Khân, 211, 212, 314.
Sadâsiva Ayyan, 352.
Sadâsiva Râo, 246.
Sadayappa Mudali, 111, 149, 155, 172, 173, 224, 435.
Sadras, 39, 47, 68, 87, 88, 89, 118, 134, 170, 177, 192, 263, 347, 386.
Safdar 'Alî or Safdar 'Ali Khân, 48, 49, 60, 71, 77, 95, 123, 296, 302, 303, 382, 409.
Safdar Husain Khân, 292.
Sâhu Râjâ, 78, 125, 190, 216, 246, 414.
Saint George, M. de, 190.
Saint Georges, 135.
St. Francis Xavier or Savariyappar, 247.
St. Helena, 371.
St. Louis (ship), 174.
St. Martin, Escappat de, 8.
St. Thomas' Mount, or the Mount, 17, 18, 132, 133, 141, 252.
St. Thomé, 113, 178, 181, 189, 192, 193, 198, 214, 243.
Saintard, 218.
Saiyid Khân, 189.
Sakkärai Pillai, 403.

Sâlavâkkam, 453.
Salem, 361, 439.
Salik Dâûd Khân, *see* Muhammad Tavakkal.
Sambu Dâs *or* Sambu Dâs Bukkanji, 186, 193, 215, 428, 429, 430, 439.
Sampâti Râo, 6, 14, 70, 75, 89, 128, 132, 220, 243, 246, 367, 378, 380, 409, 417, 431, 443.
Sându Mudali, 279.
San Luis (ship), 118.
Sankara Ayyar *or* Sankara Ayyan, 18, 222, 368, 419, 469.
Sankara Tarwâdi, *see* Harisankar Tarwâdi.
Sântappan, 206, 272.
Sarabhôji Râjâ, 350, 351, 352, 389.
Saraswati, 169.
Satâra, 78, 124, 125.
Sâtghar, 176, 295, 379.
Satyapûrnaswâmi, 356.
Saunders, Mr., 84.
Savage, Mr., 2, 80.
Savai Bhâji Dâs, 78.
Sâvanûr, 23, 44, 217.
Savari *or* Savarimuttu, 25, 26, 172, 229, 455.
Saxe, Marshall, 48.
Schonamille, Corneille de, 436, 437.
Sea Horse (sloop), 324.
Sellânjêri, 315.
Sêndamangalam, 179, 180, 184, 185, 202, 204, 205, 356, 421, 422, 430, 439, 448, 459, 461, 467.
Seringapatam, 202, 203, 204, 205, 361, 427, 430, 439.
Serpeau, *see* Gerbault.
Sêshâchala Chetti, 51, 205, 304.
Sêshâchala Chetti, Sungu, 332.
Sêshâchala Chetti, Tiruviti, 432, 442.
Sêshâchala Nâyakkan, Uyyâl, 30.
Sêshâdri Pillai, 30, 39, 85, 306.
Sêsham Râjâ, 215, 393, 426, 427.
Sêtu Mâdhava Râo, 309.
Severini, Padre, 419, 420.
Severn (ship), 92.
Shâhji Râjâ *or* Shâhji, 350, 351, 352, 387, 389, 390.
Shaikh Ahmad, 3, 9.
Shaikh Hasan, 4, 75, 76, 109, 120, 158, 219, 223, 249, 252, 266, 315, 317, 398.
Shaikh Ibrâhîm, 158, 159, 172, 266, 267, 317, 318, 347, 397.
Sholapur, 78.
Sholinghur, 409.
Siam, 173.
Siddôji, 350.
Siddôji Gorpadê, 379, 391, 394, 398, 400.
Sikkirikôttai, 90.

Silesia, 48.
Simanâji Râo, 246.
Sînappayyan, 97.
Singâra Âchâriyâr, Vêdamûrti, 393, 426.
Singâram, 72, 97, 98, 105, 128, 132, 216.
Singâravêlu Pillai, 67, 99.
Singarikôyil, 267, 268, 270, 271, 272, 313.
Singiri, 333.
Sinnângutti Chetti, 361.
Sîrpi, 6, 125, 126, 131, 168.
Sîtârâm, 183.
Sittambala Chetti, 331.
Siva, 314, 388.
Sivanâga Reddi, 9, 40, 310.
Sivarâma Sâstri, 208, 427, 475.
Siyâlavâr, 40.
Soiquit, Manoel, 428, 429, 430.
Sorâ Mudali Marakkâyar *or* Sorâ Marakkâyar, 152, 208.
Soranâvûr, 3, 8, 27.
Soude, M., 385, 406.
Spain, 80, 81.
Spits, Johannes, 89.
Srîharikôttai, 90.
Srîmushnam, 96.
Srînivâsa Âchâri, Chakravarti, 186, 215, 417.
Srînivâsa Âchâri, Paiyambâdi, 296.
Srînivâsa Âchâriyâr or Âchâriyâr, 295, 297.
Srînivâsa Pandit, 105, 456.
Srînivâsa Râo, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 226.
Srîpati Râo, 216.
Srîrangam, 99.
Stapid, Capitan Mijnheer, 89.
Stratton, Mr., 2, 74.
Subbammâl, 305.
Subbayyan (of the Fort), 280, 281, 426.
Subbayyan, Vakîl, 16, 35, 37, 38, 44, 57, 72, 76, 93, 94, 102, 103, 105, 108, 115, 127, 129, 131, 174, 262, 355, 409, 431, 432, 439, 442.
Subbu Râo, 219.
Sumatra, 371.
Sundarôji Kâttigai, 351.
Sunguvâr, 472, 473.
Surappûr, 27.
Surat, 93, 126, 127, 128, 129, 190, 228.
Sûriya Pillai, 267.
Swâmikannu Pillai, Dîwân Bahâdûr, 55, 306, 480.
Swâminâthan, 155, 172, 173.
Syajee, 350, 351.

Tâdpatri, 392.
Tahmasp Quli Khân, see Nâdir Shâh.
Tambichâ Mudali, 229.
Tambi Chetti, 58, 67.
Tambichiyâ Pillai, 336.
Tâmbuswâmi Mudali, 330.
Tânappa Mudali or Chinna Mudali or Lazar, 50, 91, 92, 122, 123, 156, 228, 300, 301, 308, 334, 386.
Tânappan, 18.
Tândavarâya Chetti, 338, 420.
Tândavarâya Pandâri, Vêttavalam, 451.
Tândavarâya Pillai, Kûdam, 340, 342, 344, 355, 365, 445.
Tâni Chetti, 18, 357.
Tanjore, 33, 56, 71, 75, 78, 99, 175, 228, 350, 351, 387, 389, 428.
Tanuka Chetti, 106.
Taqî Sâhib, 43, 49, 78, 248, 303, 382, 455.
Tarwâdi, see Harisankar Tarwâdi.
Tavernier, 360.
Tellicherry, 63, 84, 120, 131, 138, 194, 195, 254.
Tencin, Cardinal de, 218.
Tevenepatam, see Devanâmpattanam.
Thêvô, 257.
Thongeron, M., 375.
Thurston, Mr., 24, 149, 333, 336.
Timmayappa Nâyakkanpâlaiyam, 17.
Tinnevelly, 79, 131, 437.
Tirukkâmu Pillai, 280.
Tirukkânji, 122, 160, 272.
Tirumalai Pillai, or Tormalah, 199, 306, 312, 333.
Tirumalavâdi, 78.
Tirumuttam, 96, 103.
Tirupanâmbakkam, 315.
Tirupati, 409.
Tiruppâppuliyûr, 210, 310, 316, 321.
Tiruppôrûr, 84.
Tiruvallûr, 292.
Tiruvâmiyûr, 64, 158, 177.
Tiruvannâmalai, 442, 462.
Tiruvattîswaran Kôvil, 197.
Tiruvattûr, 272.
Tiruvêndipuram, 27, 68, 101, 181, 463.
Tiruvêngadam, 155.
Tiruvêngadam, 334.
Tiruvêngada Nâyakkan, 464.
Tiruvêngada Pillai, or Tiruvêngadam, Wandiwash, 223, 252, 253, 271.
Tiruvêngada Pillai, 304.
Tiruvêngadapuram, 440.

Tiruvennanallûr, 96, 103, 455, 462.
Tiruviti, 80, 89, 99, 101, 102, 108, 115, 130, 132, 158, 318, 319, 327, 374, 442, 462.
Tiruvottasâma Pillai, 85.
Tiruvottiyûr, 272.
Toppai, 279.
Toppai Mudali, 469.
Tranquebar, 7, 43, 60, 62, 63, 82, 100, 158, 257, 402.
Travancore, 54, 152, 199, 208.
Trichinopoly, 29, 40, 71, 75, 89, 140, 174, 228, 246, 414, 428.
Troutback, 243.
Trullet, M., 386.
Tûkkanâmpâkkam, 315, 321, 322, 326, 328.
Tukkôji, 350, 351.
Turaiyûr, 175.
Tyâgappa Chetti, 18.
Tyâgu, 333.

Uchimêdu, 184.
Udaiyârpâlaiyam, 89, 264, 336, 341, 352, 416.
Udaya Mârtânda Varmâ, Râjâ of Travancore, 54.
Ujjain, 190.
Ulundûr, 49, 96, 250, 270.
Ulundûrpêttai, 103.
United Provinces, 435.
Uppalvâdi, 5.
Utramallûr, 339, 453.
Uyyâluvâr Pâlaiyam, 306.

Vaduganâtha Mudali, 208, 209.
Vaippûr, 56.
Vaithi, 224.
Vâla Mârtânda Râjâ *or* Vanji Vâla Mârtânda Râjâ, 199, 208.
Vâlikondâpuram, *or* Volconda *or* Vâlikondai, 44, 78, 140.
Vallûr, 9.
Vallûru Anantanna, 471.
Valudâvûr, 44, 59, 60, 72, 85, 104, 107, 116, 117, 161, 201, 212, 273, 288, 289, 301, 313, 314, 343, 346, 462, 465, 468.
Vâlupuram, 71.
Vandipâlaiyam, 210.
Vâniyambâdi, 379.
Vannipet (Shrotriem), 297.
Varada Ayyangâr, 186, 427.
Varadappa Chetti, 269, 424.
Varadappan, 224.
Varadayyan, 67.
Varâhappayyan, 109, 420.

Varlâm, 58, 155, 157, 172, 173, 207, 222, 223, 224, 229, 252, 260, 261, 271, 278, 279, 280, 308, 343, 344, 348, 388, 389, 449, 450.
Vâsudêva Pandit, 48, 80, 164, 219, 221, 247, 248, 249.
Vêdamûrti Singâra Âchâriyâr, *see* Singâra Âchâriyâr, Vêdamûrti.
Vîdapuri Îswaran, 314.
Vellaiyânkuppam, 80.
Vellâr (River), 27, 28.
Vellimêdu, 453.
Vellore, 78, 151, 223, 265, 303, 379, 432.
Vêlu Pillai, 281.
Venga Pillai, *or* Vengappan, 361.
Vengu Pillai, 330.
Venkanna Chetti, Guntûr, 31.
Venkatâchalam, 305.
Venkatâchala Chetti, Salatu, 22, 51, 304, 402.
Venkatâchala Nâyakkan, Kadayam, 267, 412.
Venkatagiri, 379.
Venkatakrishna Ayyangâr, 305, 431, 453, 461.
Venkatammâlpêttai *or* Venkatâmpêttai, 3, 8, 27, 40, 99, 318, 453.
Venkatanâranappa Ayyan *or* Venkatanârana Ayyan *or* Venkatanârâyana Ayyan *or* Venkatanârâyanappa Ayyan, Kulasêkaram, 7, 185, 186, 202, 203, 204, 205, 355, 361, 422, 439, 443, 459, 461, 467.
Venkata Nâyakkan, 109.
Venkatapati, 43.
Venkatapati Nâyakkan, 380, 410, 411.
Venkatapati Nâyakkan, Vêmul, 392.
Venkatapati Reddi, 362.
Venkatarâman, 57.
Venkata Râo, 32, 295, 296, 297.
Venkata Reddi, 2, 40, 405, 406, 407, 417, 418, 461.
Venkatêsa Ayyan, 419.
Venkatêsa Chetti, Kâviral, 310, 311, 362.
Venkayyan, Vengupâthu Kandi *or* Kandi, 67, 213.
Vêttavalam, 40, 306, 323, 335, 336, 352, 451, 452.
Vijayarâghava Âchâriyâr, 309.
Vijaya Râm Râjâ, *or* Vijaya Râm, 443, 448.
Villeon, 323.
Villiyanallûr, 3, 27, 59, 72, 89, 116, 117, 161, 318, 319, 343, 346, 462.
Villupuram, 89, 96, 200, 272, 319.
Vinaiquen, 341.
Vinâyaka Pandit, 219, 220, 221, 223, 242.
Vinâyaka Pillai, 52.
Vincens, M., 293, 402, 405, 430.
Vincens, Marie, 272, 391.
Vincens, Rose, 402.
Vincens, Anne Christine Françoise (Madame d'Espréménil), *see* Espréménil, Madame d'.

Vincens, Ursule, 436.
Vinson, M., 9, 67, 143, 330.
Vîrâ Chetti, 341, 357, 473.
Vîramarâjâ, 85.
Vîrâmpattanam, 76.
Vîrâ Nâyakkan, 4, 24, 26, 30, 170, 172, 212, 241, 264, 295, 340, 341, 344, 393, 423, 449, 450, 464, 469.
Vîrannan, 472.
Viranna Chetti, 422.
Vîrâ Pillai, 155, 446.
Vîrappan, 5.
Vîrarâghavan, 383.
Vîrarâghava Nâyakkan, 373.
Vîrarâgu, 258.
Vîri Chetti, 204.
Vishnu, 314, 426.
Viswapati Ayyar, 336.
Vizagapatam, 178, 324.
Volconda *see* Vâlikondâpuram.
Vriddhachalam, 96.

Wandiwash, 48, 49, 77, 126, 200, 223, 252, 270, 271, 272, 300, 301, 303, 319, 374, 377, 382, 413, 431, 441, 453, 455, 473.
Warwick (ship), 92.
Weber, 18, 137.
Wheeler, 327.
Wilks, 203, 275.
Wilson, 36.
Wilson, 194.
Winchester (ship), 254, 321.

Yâgappan, 424.
Yânâm, 196, 285, 331, 471.
Yasâl, 216.
Yâsananûr, 215.
Yiyom, *see* Guillaume.

Zafar Y'aqûb Bêg Khân, 251.
Zain-ud'Alî Khân, 379, 380, 423, 431, 437.
Zain-ul-'aâbidin Khân, 283.
Zâkir Khân, 378.


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